# NAPHTALI,

OR

## The Wreſtlings of the Church of SCOTLAND

For the

## KINGDOM of CHRIST;

*Contained in*

A true and ſhort Deduction thereof, from the beginning of the Reformation of Religion, until the Year 1667.

*Together with*

The laſt Speeches and Teſtimonies of ſome who have died for the Truth ſince the Year 1660.

*Whereunto are alſo ſubjoined*

A Relation of the Sufferings and Death of Mr HEW McKAIL, and ſome Inſtances of the Sufferings of *Galloway* and *Nithiſdale*.

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LAM. 1: 12. *Is it nothing to you, all ye that paſs by? Behold and ſee, if there be any ſorrow like unto my ſorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me, in the day of his fierce anger.*

MIC. 7: 8. *Rejoice not againſt me, O mine Enemy: When I fall, I ſhall ariſe; When I ſit in darkneſs, the Lord ſhall be a Light unto me.*

ISAI. 14, 32. *What ſhall one then anſwere the Meſſengers of the Nation? That the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of the People ſhall truſt in it.*

Printed in the Year 1667.

# AD LECTOREM.

*Non hîc Herculeæ ſunt cum ſudore paleſtræ;*
*Nullus Olympiaco impulvere Ludus iners:*
*Pro ſudore cruor Chriſti de Corpore manat;*
*Ardua pro ludo eſt lucta, rapina, neces.*
*Scotica bis denis luctata Eccleſia Luſtris;*
*Penè dedit victas, laſſa labore, manus.*
*Duros paſſa Patres dudum, velut ante Novercas,*
*Vi premitur; Stygia fraude ſubacta gemit.*
*Conſtitit effrænes contra tumidasque procellas;*
*Proque Fide ſteterat, dum ſtetit ulla fides.*
*Nuſquam cana fides nunc eſt; juratæque Cœli*
*Numina, mortales, vinc'la nec ulla ligant.*
*Credula dum nimis eſt, fida hæc Eccleſia; vanâ*
*Spe luſâ, & rupto Fœdere ſtrata jacet:*
*Strata tamen non tota jacet, de pulvere ſurgit;*
*Auricomum tollet mox ſupra aſtra caput.*
*Ipſa triumphalem currum Crux ſævo miniſtrat;*
*Sanctorum ſanguis fertile ſemen erit.*
*Ecce! Sacerdotum turmam Regumque Coronam*
*Pendentem infami de trabe, Lector, habes.*
*Cerne oculo, Heroum facies & corpora cernas;*
*Verba audi, & videas pectora plena Deo,*
*Hîc loquitur* Princeps, *magno cum* Judice, Vates;
*Et* Juvenes, *Vatum ſpes animoſa ſenum.*
*Hîc* Generoſa cohors, Miles, Mercator, agelli
Cultor, & Arte rudis, *ſpirat ab ore Deum.*
*Diſce immortalem hinc Animam, vitamque futuram;*
*Nulla eſt, pro Chriſto, mors male grata pio.*
*Pro Chriſti* Crux, *eſt, diademate* Laurea; *veſtis,*
*Fœdere pro Sancto, eſt vitta, monile, decus.*

Mht38
St43

# READER

THE LORD in great mercy, having wonderfully and with an outſtretched arm, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition of Sathan and earthly Principalities, redeemed *Scotland* from the Power and darkneſs, firſt of *Gentiliſm*, and then of *Antichriſtianiſm*, by raiſing of ſome burning and ſhining Lights, and other Inſtruments fitted for that Work; Whereby the Light of the Glorious Goſpel, from a very ſmall beginning, did increaſe more and more, untill at length, ſhining with brightneſs and heat as the Sun in his ſtrength, it filled the Land with knowledge, in ſo much that the name thereof became *Jehouah Shammah, the Lord is there:* And having built to Himſelf a houſe upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, not only ſufficiently inſtructed with righteous Laws and Judgments for Doctrine and Worship; But alſo provided with all Ordinary Officers neceſſary in the Chriſtian Church, and with a form of Church-Government, of his own Inſtitution, diſtinct from, and without any prejudice unto the Civil Govern-

ment of the Kingdom, Whereby the Church of *Scotland*, for Soundneſs of Faith, Purity of Worship, Excellency of Government, Freedom and Power of the Goſpel, beautiful Order and Unity, was not inferior to any, if not preferable to moſt of the Reformed Churches, and therefore was deſervedly famous and eſteemed amongſt them: Having alſo, for an hundred Years, from it's firſt National Eſtabliſhment, preſerved the ſame from utter overthrow, notwithſtanding the many various and renewed endeavours of men, by force and fraud, to reduce it unto the ſame Errors, Ignorance and Superſtitions, wherein it ſelf at firſt lay buried, and under which others groaned; And ſeveral times revived and reſtored it, when by it's own Impurity, Indifferency and Formality it began to decline, or by the Treachery, Subtilty, or Violence of others it was oppreſſed; Thereby not only diſappointing, confounding, and many times ruining the Adverſaries, and comforting and ſtrengthening the faithful; But alſo alwayes rebuilding to Himſelf a Temple, the glory whereof did far excell and darken the glory of the former: And having many times engaged the whole Land to Himſelf, by ſeveral moſt ſolemn Obligations, of voluntary Surrender and Reſignation, by frequently renewed Oaths and Covenants; So that within theſe few Years paſt, there were not many perſons of age, of whatever degree, and not ſo much as one Preaching Miniſter in all the Land, who not only did not make publick profeſſion of the true Reformed Religion, but alſo ſubject themſelves unto the Presbyterial Form of Church Government and Diſcipline, & who did not (which we deſire to be noted) for that effect in their own perſons ſwear and ſubſcribe with the hand unto the Lord, in the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant; In ſo much, that as to the publick Profeſſion of the Truth, and almoſt as to the number of perſons, the Church of *Scotland* was of equal extent with the Nation, and in that reſpect

ſpect, of all other National Churches, did moſt reſemble the old Church of the *Iewes*: The Lord, I ſay, having to the conviction and acknowledgement of our ſelves and others, done ſuch great things for us, whereof we are glad, the preſent Apoſtacy, whereby *Scotland's Bethel* is become *Bethaven*, and the Land that was ſometimes *Holineſs unto the Lord*, is become (alas! too *Edom*-like) *the border of wickedneſs*, & an *Aceldama*, a Tragical Theatre of blood & perſecution, ought to be unto us no leſs matter of Sorrow, Shame and Fear, then it is Sin in itſelf, & Wonder and Amazement unto others. Who can hear our Covenanted and Kindeſt Lord, *who hateth putting away*, and deſieth us to *ſhew the bill of our Mothers divorcement*, who groaneth under our Backſlidings, being *preſſed* therewith *as a cart full of ſheaves*, complaining that *He is broken with our whorish hearts*, and therefore declaring that *He will be no more our Husband*; *nor we His Wife*, and *that His heart cannot be toward us*; But that *He will drive us out of His houſe, and love us no more*, and not cover the lip for Shame? And in conſequence thereof, who can behold the Fathers houſe, not only defiled, by turning it into a houſe of Marchandiſe and den of theeves, but the Temple caſten down to the ground, and the Adverſary in the midſt thereof inſultingly and ſcornfully ſet up their enſignes for ſignes of Triumph; And furder, behold the blood of the Saints ſhed like water, and their fleſh given to be meat to the fowles of the heaven and beaſts of the Earth, and not lament with *Jeremiah*? *Cap.* 9: 1, 2, 3. *Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the ſlain of the Daughter of my People. Oh that I had in the Wilderneſs a lodging place of wayfaring men, that I might leave my People and go from them: For they be all adulterers, an aſſembly of treacherous men. And they bend their tongue like their bowe for lies: But they are not valiant for the Truth upon the Earth: for they proceed from evil to evil, and they know not me,*

with the *Lord*. And this will the more appear, not only if we remember the general nature of Backsliding, which is a very comprehensive Sin, importing less Love, Fear and Trust in the true God, and proclaiming more Inconstancy, Unfaithfulness, and ingratitude towards Him, then sometimes is found in very Heathens towards their Idols; But also if we consider that our present Defection hath all circumstantial Aggravations in the highest degree. For it is not in things only Civil, Indifferent, or of little moment; But in things Religious, Necessary, Important and which at least in their tendency and consequence reach to the very foundation: It is not the effect of common, humane and invincible infirmity; but most free and voluntary, yea wilful and deliberate: It is not done by stealth, or in a corner; but avowedly and openly in the sight of the Sun: It is not Private and Personal; but Representative and Authorized, by Acts and Proclamations of King, Parliament and Council: It is not smoothly and subtilly, but most tyrannically carried on by military violence and cruelty: It is not of a few or inconsiderable Persons, but very Universal; The greatest part of all Ranks, and of some Ranks almost the whole, being some one way or other involved therein: It is not only of these, who were alwayes of known and professed disaffection to the Cause and Covenant of God; but also of many who sometimes being exceeding zealous themselves, and exemplary and forcible upstirrers of others therein, are now become the chief Ringleaders theirof, and most bloody Persecuters of those who remain stedfast in the Truth: It is not in an Heathenish or Antichristian Land, or Church divided and broken with several Sects, as some others are; but even in *Scotland*, so clearly enlightened, for which the Lord had wrought so many wonderful works, which was under so many obligations of Oaths and Covenants to the contrary, and had been so united in the profession of the Truth: It is not from violent

lent force, Inevitable neceſſity or irreſiſtible temptation (which is neither poſſible nor yet would excuſe it) but when the Lord, by breaking the yoke of ſortain Uſurpation, had given King and Countrey the faireſt opportunity which they ever had, to reſtore, confirm and advance His Work; as if He had delivered us, that we might work all theſe Abominations: And all this for no other end, then the baſe flattering of the Kings humor and inclination, the ſatiating of Prelaticall Pride and Ambition, the indulging of the licentious profanity of ſome Debauched & degenerated Nobles and others, who could not endure the yoke of Chriſt's ſound doctrine and impartiall diſcipline, And the ſuppreſſion of Religion and Righteouſneſs in the ſubverſion of the late work of Reformation; Whereby we have charged our ſelves with all the blood that hath been shed upon either ſide, during the former wars; Have laid a ſtumbling block before all, who ſhall ſee or hear of it, to blaſpheme Religion as a fiction, to condemn the late Work of Reformation as a falſe pretence for Rebellion and Self-Intereſt, and to affirm that there is neither truth nor ingenuity in the Profeſſors thereof. *Paſs over the Iſles of* Chittim *and ſee, and ſend unto* Kedar, *and conſider diligently, and ſee if there be ſuch a thing; hath a Nation changed their Gods, which yet are no Gods? But* Scotland, Ah Scotland! *hath changed her glory for that which doth not profit. Be aſtonished, O ye heavens at this, and be horribly afraid:* And ſo much the rather, becauſe few Lands did ever make Defection after this manner, but, as upon the one hand, the Lord gave them up unto more Backſliding, until they abounded more with Atheiſm and all manner of abominations, then ſome Pagan-Nations, who never heard nor made Profeſſion of the Goſpel; So upon the other hand, He alwayes purſued them with ſoreſt plagues, not only of ſubjugation at home, ſcattering and exile abroad, dividing of Kingdomes amongſt themſelves, and from their former Rulers, and final ſub-

verſion of whole Empires, Kingdomes and Commonwealths; But alſo many times with the Final removal of the Goſpel, and utter diſſolution of all viſible National Covenant-relation, as might be demonſtrated from Holy Scripture, and other Hiſtories: And indeed, if He, to whom nothing is ſtrange or impoſſible (though they may ſeem both to us) and whoſe wayes and thoughts are as far above ours, as the Heavens are above the Earth, do not in the Soveraignity of His Grace, recede from His ordinary method of dealing with ſuch apoſtatizing People, and now when he hath ſeen our way do not heal us, we have, alas! too too juſt ground of fear, that we ſhall become ſuch a proverb amongſt the Nations, that the generation to come of our Children, and the ſtranger that cometh from a far Land, when they ſee the plagues of this Land, ſhall wonder and ask, *Wherefore hath the Lord done this unto this Land? What meaneth the heat of this great anger?* Oh! that the very *firſt*, and next following ſteps of Defection, together with the Cauſes of the Lord's wrath againſt the Land, were remembered and acknowledged, and that all who have had any acceſſion to the kindling of this flame (and who can wholly Juſtify himſelf? If any would, be ſure, his own mouth ſhould condemn him) would draw water and pour it out before the Lord, for quenching thereof, and that the *firſt* reſielers from our National Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement to duties, would glorify God by Confeſſion, that he might turn from the fierceneſs of his Anger; But alas! He hath at once pour'd out upon us the Spirit of *Whoredome* and of a *deep ſleep*! and hath both made us to *erre* from His way, and *hard'ned* our hearts from his fear. And as we ſhould look behind us to the Riſe, ſo before us to the Reſult of theſe things; for though every runner may read the *Primum mobile* of this courſe, the great axletree and wheels upon which all moveth, and who are the furious drivers and ſlavish drawers thereof, and we have

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both seen the several degrees of Motion and advancements, and smarted the sad effects of the same, yet I am affray'd, that there is now another Spirit in Persons and Tendency in affairs then some men apprehend. Whether there be a sufficient ground in the Holy Scriptures to think with some, that before the last fall of the Roman Antichrist, the Popish Religion shall once more overshadow the Christian World, is not proper here to enquire; But considering the great affinity betwixt *Papacy* and *Prelacy*, and the already authorized and practized Conformity of the one to the other, not only in Government and Discipline, whereby they have, for the most part, the same Ecclesiastical Courts and Officers; But also in Worship, whereby they have the same Liturgy, for substance of Epistles, Gospels, Collects and Letany; The same Ceremonies of Rising, Standing to the East, Bowing, Kneeling, Crossing, &c. the same superstitious & fool-like Vestments; The same observation of many dayes, the same adorning of Churches and Chappels, with Altars, Books, Candles, Candlesticks, Basins, Images, and Crucifix's on windows, and the same Jesuitical sign upon their pulpit cloath; And also in several points of Doctrine, preached, licensed and printed, with many other things tedious to be enumerated: Considering also the constitution of the Kingdoms, which by Ignorance, Atheisme, disputing and oppugning of the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, Error, Superstition, Profaneness, Indifferency, Formality and Hypocrisy in many, are much more then formerly disposed to embrace whatsoever shall be authorized or indulged: And considering the native tendency of the present Course of Backsliding, which leadeth unto the great Whore, the mother of all these abominations, Nothing but gross, wilfull or judicial Ignorance, and estrangement from affairs, can deny that there is too just ground of fear, that ere long (if the Lord do not prevent it) *Erastus* may be again precipitated into the old gulf of

Antichriſtianiſm. And ſo much the rather, becauſe it is univerſally obſerved and notourly known, that the number of profeſſed Papiſts, hath increaſed more within theſe ſix Years, then it had for near ſixty before; the conviction whereof made ſome of the Prelates themſelves ſay ſome Years hence, that ſince the Year 1660. there were more thouſands of avowed Papiſts in *Scotland* (compute then what may and muſt be in *England* and *Ireland*) then before that Year there were hundreds. Whence this is, and whether there be any poſitive Reſolution to reintroduce Popery in theſe Lands, I do not affirm, but remit it to the conſideration of the impartial Reader who underſtandeth the times, and to Time it ſelf, a great ſearcher and diſcoverer of ſecrets, to declare the genuine meaning and tendency of theſe things, That the King ſhould publish in print, that the Papiſts had been faithful Subjects to him and his Father, whileſt others under pretence of Religion had involved the Kingdoms in blood; Was that bloody Maſſacre in *Ireland*, whereof they were the known and acknowledged Actors, though perhaps not the only Authors, ſuch Faithful ſervice? That the execution of penal Statutes againſt Papiſts ſhould be ſuperſeded, whilſt ſevere penal Statutes are dayly enacted and executed againſt Proteſtants, really, though not under that name and notion: That ſo many known and open Idolatrous Maſſes ſhould be conniv-ed at & tollerated, whilſt both publick & private meetings of Proteſtants for pure Worship are prohibited by Law, and violently interrupted: That ſo many known profeſſed Papiſts, Prieſts and Jeſuites, who do not publickly countenance the Prelatical Worship, are permitted to live peaceably and enjoy all their Liberties, whilſt non-complying Proteſtants, for ſimple Non-conformity to Prelacy, are impriſoned, fined, confined, ſcourged, ſtigmatized, and many otherwayes oppreſſed and perſecuted, in their Eſtates, Conſciences and Names: That ſo many Papiſts eſpecially

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in *England* should enjoy and be dayly advanced to the greatest places of publick Power and Truſt, not only as members of Parliament, Council, and Court, but as State-Officers, Lieutenants, Sheriſs, Juſtices of Counties, and Officers in Army, whilſt ſtedfaſt Proteſtants, for ſimple non-perjuring, are ſome of them not ſo much as permitted to ſit in Parliament, or any other Iudicatory; others of them diſcourted, diſgraced, diſarmed, impriſoned and proſcribed, and all of them who will not forſwear, declared incapable of publick Power or Truſt in Church or Common-wealth: That a houſe for Fathers or Friers is provided; whilſt many faithful Miniſters are removed and chaſed from place to place, without any certain habitation: That there should be ſuch univerſal Report & ſo much Preſumption, of a Popish hand in burning of *London*, which, for number and ſtrength of Proteſtant Inhabitants, was the moſt conſiderable City in the World, and bulwark againſt the Romish Religion and deſignes, and yet, as if men were affrayed to try the truth in that matter, ſo little ſatisfying & effectual courſe taken, to try and punish the Authors and Actors, and to repreſs their many other inſolent miſdemeanors; whilſt many thouſands of innocent Proteſtants, who never burnt either houſe or City, for no other alleaged crime but their peaceable forbearance to bow to the Idol which the King hath ſetup, are thrown into a furnace of fiery Triall, ſeven times more heated then ever was known in the Chriſtian World for ſuch a Cauſe, all things being conſidered.

It may ſeem ſtrange to the Nations about, and to the Generations following, that the Church of *Scotland* which had been ſo faithful and chaſt, should have ſuffered herſelf to be thus proſtituted, and that (if she would not otherwayes, after the manner of her Fathers, contend for the Faith which she had receaved) she did not cry to all the World by Declarations and Proteſtations (as the Maid under the Law) that she was forced; And that of all the ſons which

which she had brought forth, there were so few, either to take her by the hand, and plead openly for her, or to plead with her, that she would put away her whoredoms. This indeed is, and ought to be for a lamentation; But let none therefore conclude (as some of the profane and perfidious Prelates, measuring others after their own baseness and treachery, had the impudence at first to misrepresent to the Rulers) that all were or are consentient unto this horrid Apostacy; for even at the beginning thereof, if Synods (which were then resolving to bear publick Witness for the then established Government of the Church, and against the begun Defection, and further progress thereof by the Reintroduction of Prelacy, which was then designed) had not been, some of them, by Proclamation prohibited to conveen, and others of them violently interrupted and raised by Nobles, who, by Order of Parliament, were present for that effect; And if some of her Watchmen (who were neither professedly driving on, nor secretly breathing after Prelacy & Prelatical promotion) had not for Reasons best known to themselves, too much courted and flattered the Powers by their own silence, and withdrawing of their necessary and required concurrence in a publick joint Testimony, there wanted not Faithfulness, Zeal, Courage, Resolutions and some Endeavours in others to have emitted such Declarations, as probably might have crushed the bold attempt of the Prelates in it's infancy, and thereby have prevented much Sin and Suffering which hath ensued thereupon, and certainly would have witnessed to all the World, that the Church without & against her consent was treacherously betrayed and violently forced. Neither hath the Truth, all along from that time till this, wanted many testimonies, though none of them were so National, Universal, Authoritative and Solemn as they should have been; And few of them (perhaps) so explicite, full, plain and bold, as the weight of the matter and other circumstances re-

required: Yea, the continued fears of the Adverſaries, expreſſed in the Narratives of ſeveral of their own Acts and Proclamations, and their leavying of Military Force, for upholding of them and their Cauſe; The Non-complyance of many thouſands, their ſecret and open complaints and moans becauſe of it, & their daily prayers to God againſt it, bear witneſs againſt this preſent Courſe. Beſides, it is very obſervable, that ſome, who had been chief Authors and Active Promoters thereof and Complyers with the ſame, and others, who had been intimate familiars and favourers of Prelats and their Vice-curats, in Sickneſs and at Death did ſo much abhorre their way and loath their Perſons, that they would not admit their preſence, but called for Non-conforming Miniſters to ſpeak to them and pray for them; Yea ſome Gentlemen upon Death-bed, did with much ſorrow bemoan their own concurrence, and particularly their taking of the Declaration againſt the Covenant, and ſeriouſly warned and exhorted their old Familiars and companions in that guilt to repent thereof, wiſhing they were able to go and make publick profeſſion of their own Repentance; and others (whilſt ſome friends offered to bring Prelatical men unto them) profeſſed, that though they had ſported with ſuch men in health, yet they durſt not do ſo at Death; and ſome Miniſters who had conformed, in remorſe thereof, forſook that way, and thereafter died with convincing evidence of Repentance therefore, and declaration againſt the ſame: And indeed, as there was never any Courſe in the Land, which ſo viſibly had the Voluntary and Active Concurſe of all and Only the Wicked and Prophane; ſo there was never a more Univerſal concurrence and Wreſtling together by prayer, of all the Godly without Exception, againſt any Party and Cauſe, then now is againſt this; for there needs no more to make any man (though formerly their friend and familiar) to hate their way and deteſt themſelves, but to convince him of his own

own Sin, make him thorowly apprehenſive of death and Judgment, and become a ſincere ſeeker of God, and Student of holineſs in his own Perſon. And further the late Riſing in Armes, is an Argument above contradiction, that Prelacy is an out-landish and Unnatural weed in *Scotland*; It is true, that it had it's immediat Riſe from cruell Oppreſſion, but it is as true, that all that Oppreſſion, was Authoriſed by the Rulers, Exerciſed by the Souldiers, and endured by the People, meerly *Becauſe* and upon accompt of their Faithfulneſs and Stedfaſtneſs in the Covenant and Cauſe of God, in a non-complyance with Prelacy, otherwiſe they might have lived as quyetly as others, and ſo ſoon as they were in a probable Capacity, by renewing of the Covenant, they declared Actively for that ſame Cauſe, for which they had ſuffered ſo much: It is true alſo, that the Action is condemned by ſome as Rebellious, and the Endeavour as Indeliberate, Irrational and Preſumputous; But referring the Reader to the following diſcourſe for full ſatisfaction thereanent, I ſhall only here hint, that being altogether accidentally occaſioned, by an unforſeen emergent difference, betwixt 3 or 4 Souldiers and as many Countrey-men, ariſeing from horrid Oppreſſion, through unjuſt Lawes and cruell military execution thereof, without premeditated counſel or contrivance, it cannot be imagined that all the formalities, which may be judged neceſſary in a matter of that nature and importance, could have been in it: And yet it is preſumed, that it wanted nothing but ſucceſs to have made many of the ſame perſons account the Action juſt and neceſſary, and the Enterprize, laudable and valorous. And as for the Perſons themſelves, it may be truly and without all vanity affirmed. that theſe many years paſt, there hath not been in *Brittain* ſuch an other Company of men joyned in Armes for the Covenant and Cauſe of God: for though where Armies were more numerous, there might be or was the like or greater number

ber of persons truly Godly; Yet where the whole number was so small, it will be very hard to parallel so many together, of sound Judgement, true Piety, Integrity of heart, fervent zeal, and undaunted Resolution and Courage, and with so small a mixture of persons of corrupt Mindes, profane Conversations and siniſtrous Ends: And although we would not be prodigal of mens lives, especially of Saints, at this time, when there is so great need and scarcity of intercessors, to stand between the dead and the living; yet that simple act of *Renewing* of the *Covenant* is more glory to God, and a greater Testimony and Advantage to that buried Covenant and Cause, then (we hope) the loss of so many men as are faln, shall import of dammage thereunto. But above all, take notice of the many Sufferings and *Sufferers* hereafter mentioned, whose Blood under the altar, and some of whese *Heads* and *Hands* standing betwixt Heaven & Earth, doth not only cry for Vengeance, but night and day bear open Witness against this Adulterous Geaeration. These mens Testimony should have the more weight and Credite with all, because of the Persons, the Matter, and Manner thereof, which was not by Wishing, Words-speaking, or Doing without danger, which is the height of too many men's atchievment in these dayes, but by BLOOD, whereunto they resisted striving against Sin, and thereby, being neither affrayed to Act, nor ashamed to Suffer for their Lord and Master, have left behind them a fair Example of both to all, and a Reproof to many, whose greater Prudence then Zeall, hath taught them to Save themselves, by couching betwixt the burdens. That a great Prince, and yet not so Great as Good, an Eminent and more then ordinarly Useful, and never to be forgotten Instrument of the Work of Reformation and Patron of the Church, and a True & Seeing Propher, did fall in *Scotland*, when *Argile*, *Wariston* and *Mr Guthrey*, for no other cause but their *Good deeds*, and particularly for Loving

of

of our Nation and building of our Synagogue, were led like Innocent sheep to the Slaughter, nothing but Ignorance, Malice, Wickedneſs, or Partiality can deny: for they wanted nothing to make them Beloved, as they were eſteemed and Feared by their Enemies, but that they neither did nor would, becauſe for Love and awe of God they durſt not with others make Shipwrack of Faith and a Good conſcience. Of theſe three Mighty men, and Others who by Suffering ſince have obtained the Crown (though ſome of them, being but Countrey-Yeomen, had mean Education, and little other Learning, then what they learned in the Goſpel of Him who is meek and Lowly, and whom the Zeall of his Fathers houſe did eat up, it is below their due Commendation, when it is affirmed, That never any men of the greateſt Spirits, Piety and Learning, did Suffer and Die with more Meekneſs and Patience toward their Enemies, with more Humility and Confidence toward God, with more Faithfulneſs and Stedfaſtneſs in the Truth, without the leaſt injurious reflexion thereupon, or their own adherence thereunto, with more Equability and compoſure of Spirit, ſweetly tempered with the Sorrow's of Sin and Joyes of the Holy Ghoſt, in aſſurance of Pardon and Life Everlaſting, and with leſs perturbation of mind, and alteration of Carriage or Countenance, then theſe *Worthies* did. Here indeed was the Faith and Patience of the Saints, here did the Lord ſtand by and ſtrengthen them whom others forſook: Yea the Lord to the Admiration of all, the conviction of many of their adverſaries, the confirmation & Eſtabliſhment of the Cauſe, the Encouragement of many thouſands, His own Eternall Glory, and their Immortal Commendation, did Work in the hearts of all Beholders, more ample & enduring Epiſtles of Commendation, then the moſt Eloquent and Pathetick Rhetorician can Writ in their Favours. This accompt further I will give yow of the firſt ten who died together *December* 7. that they once reſolved to

ſpeak

ſpeak ſeverally to the People at their death; but thereat conſidering, that for one Common Cauſe, and upon the ſame alleageances, they were all appointed to die one manner of death, together at one time and in one place, and having the conveniency of being together in the Priſon, they preferred to leave a word jointly behind them in writ: which as it was the cauſe of one conjunct Teſtimony, and ſome others ſeverally; So the Foreſeing Providence of God in this, is very obſervable: for had it been otherwiſe (ſeing they were not at all permitted to ſpeak to the People upon the ſcaffold, there had nothing of their joint Teſtimony been extant, more then is of theſe who were not ſuffered to ſpeak at their death in *Glaſgow*, & of the reſt who Suffered in other places of the Weſt, of whom we have heard nothing more particularly, but that the ſame Spirit of Glory and of God reſting upon them, did work in them all, the ſame Stedfaſtneſs, Patience, Humility, Conſolation, Courage and Confidence.

Theſe being the laſt times, wherein Sin aboundeth, and the love of many is waxed cold, I cannot devine what pity ſhall be ſhewed to them that are in Miſery; eſpecially conſidering the Univerſall decay of Religion, and dark cloud of prejudice and diſcountenance, whereby the Kingdom of Chriſt is overshaddowed, generally the whole world over, and even amongſt the Reformed Churches: Nevertheleſs, there being a Communion of Saints, which ſhould be entertained amongſt both Perſons and Churches, whereby theſe of the ſame true Religion (amongſt other things) reciprocally give and receave information of their common affaires, that, if they can or will expreſs no other act of Love, they may (at leaſt) the more ſutably Sympathize, and mutually pray one for another; And the Lord in his Providence, giving the opportunity, I thought it convenient, yea neceſſary, to communicat the following *Deduction of the Wreſtlings of the Church of Scotland for the*

*Kingdome of Christ*, hoping, that as it beareth the Name, ſo, the Wreſtling Church of Scotland, in due time ſhall reap the Bleſſing of NAPHTALI, who *Gen.*49.21. is called *a Hinde let looſe*, and ſaid to *give goodly words*: for who can tell, but Her *Wreſtlings* may be ſwallowed up of *Victory* and *Liberty*, and Her ancient Covenanted Doctrin, Worship and Government, may become as *Pleaſant* and *Acceptable*, as it is *Profitable*, not only within herſelf, but alſo amongſt the Churches abroad. This *Title* being only affirmative of Her, and not Negative of other Churches, as if only She, and not alſo They, had Wreſtled for the Kingdom of Chriſt, let no man offend thereat: For as the Lord Redeemer hath ſeveral Offices, equally Neceſſary in themſelves, and Inſeperable by Man, and as particular Churches, as well as Perſons, have their peculiar gifts and Excellencies, and accordingly their diſtinct work aſſigned unto them, whereby (amongſt other things) they, more or leſs eminently, aſſert and Propugn this or that particular Truth; So in this diſtribution, whereas other Churches have aſſerted and contended for his *Prieſtly* and *Prophetical* Offices, the lot ſeemeth to have fallen upon *Scotland*, to aſſert and wreſtle more eminently then many others, for the *Crown* and *Kingdom* of Jeſus Chriſt. For the eſtabliſhment of this, did our firſt famous Reformers ſtrive by the evidence of Holy Scripture, as well as for Soundneſs of Doctrine and Purity of Worship; for Preſervation and Reſtauration of this, did their Worthy Succeſſors Zealouſly contend by Petitions, Warnings, Conferences and Diſputations; all Invaſion, Uſurpation, or the leaſt encroachment upon this, did they valiantly reſiſt by Proteſtations and Declinatures; and for a Teſtimony to this, did they patiently Suffer Bonds, Impriſonment, Confinement, Sentences of Death, and (of late) Death it ſelf. Neither ſhould any man think this ſtrange, as if Presbyterial Government were in itſelf Unlawful, or the *Species* of Church Government,

Government, were indifferent, and consequently Contending and Suffering therefore, Unwartantable or Needless, as Pretenders to different Forms (upon the right and left hand) would have the World beleeve. Hithertil indeed the Church of *Scotland* hath heen as a Speckled bird, and the birds round about have been against her, She hath endured the scourge of many tougnes, as well as the Violence of many hands, upon both hands false witnesses have laid to her charge, things which she knew not, as being (amongst other things) too Laxe or too Rigide; Yea as Unnatural Children have eaten thorow their Mothers bowels, so Unkindly Brethren have rewarded her evil for good, *Standing on the other side, and looking upon her and her affliction in the day of her calamity, rejoicing over her in the day of her destruction, and speaking proudly in the day of her distress, yea laying hands on her Substance in the day of her calamity.* The wrath of man worketh not the Righteousnes of God, neither doth his invincible Truth need the help of humane Passions, if therefore, such men do not fear, I shall not desire, that *their own tougnes may fall upon themselves, and that the Lord may render unto them according to their deeds, and according to the wickedness of their endeavours,* but rather study the revenge of good will by Prayer, that He would open their eyes & convert their hearts, that they may take revenge on themselves. Charity, which thinketh no evil, obleegeth to beleeve, till wee see the contrary, that Scripture, Conscience, Covenant and Credite will make those who did once laudably assert, constantly propugn and adhere to the *Ius Divinum* of Presbyterial Government, until they publish (which none can do) as convinceing reasons of Retractation & contrary Practice: And whatever might be expected of others, Religion, Reason, Candor, Gratitude, and Policy would seem to require, that those who in their distress intreated & obtained the successful Assistance of the Covenanted Interest of *Scotland*, & others, who owe thereunto whatever they

are, or have more then just nothing, debt, or broken fortunes, should have been so far from contemptuous throwing away the *Covenant* as an old Almanack, when, by it as a stirrup, they had mounted the saddle of Power, Promotion and Riches, and from subtile dissolving the nerves, or forcible breaking the Arme of *Presbytery*, that they should rather have said to both as *Ruth* to *Naomi*, *Where thou goest, I will go; where thou lodgest, I will lodge; thy People shall be my People, and thy God my God: Where thou diest, I will die, and there will I be buried: God do so to me and more also if ought but death part thee and me.* And it may be truly said, as the Church of *Scotland* hath had no Detractors, but such as were Ignorant of her, or mis-informed about her, or whom Faction, Partiality, Prejudice, Wickedness or Love of unlawful Liberty did inspire; So no Person or Party hath endeavoured hithertil to root out *Presbytery*, but the Lord hath made it a burdensome stone unto them: And I am sure, there is no other Form of Church Government can boast of so many Testimonies by *Blood* as Presbyterial Government might do. But of all Contradicters, the Church of *Scotland*, of old and late, hath only had to do (within herself) with *Prelatists*, some whereof, being high flown, have pleaded a *Jus Divinum*, others (Antiquaries) have pleaded *Antiquity*, and many Adiaphorists of late, being beaten from both these strengths, have pleaded *Indifferency* in general, and only *Jus Carolinum*, as to this or that *Species*: But as no eyes, save their own, neither these except by delusion of their sense, could ever see *Prelacy* (that is, an Ordinary Ecclesiastical Order, Distinct from and Superior to that of a Preaching Presbyter, having the sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction) in the Holy Scripture, otherwise then by Prohibition to *Lord* it over Gods heritage, or in the example of *Diotrephes* who loved *Preheminence* (as many famous writings, whereunto I refer the Reader, unanswerably demonstrat) & therefore,

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the Office being a ſtranger in the Word of God, rather then the braſen Serpent which once had Divine Inſtitution, ſhould be *Nehuſhtan* in the Church; So let no man, Exorciſt-wiſe, adjure us by the Charming words of *Antiquity*, *Primitive times* and *Biſhops*, *Fathers*, &c. For *Moſes* we know, the Prophets and Apoſtles we know, but what is Antiquity, and who are the primitive Biſhops and Fathers? Muſt men be ſtigmatized, as giddy-headed Novelliſts, and as much *Athenian* in their Principles and Profeſſions, as other men in their Newes, or then be Implicite in-tail-following Antiquaries? No, there is a *Medium* of proving all things, and holding that which is good: *Pure* Antiquity deſerveth all eſteem and reverence, but *Simple* Antiquity, *as ſuch*, is neither a certain nor Safe Rule, and much leſs oblieging to future times, and ſo remote as our's are. Our Lord Himſelf repelleth that pretence, that *it was ſaid of old*: Were there not many Errors and Corruptions (which themſelves will not Juſtify) as ancient, and early in the Church (yea more) as Prelacy is alleaged to be? We are commanded *to the Law* and *Teſtimony*, but never to the Fathers, and good reaſon, becauſe few or none of them were without groſs errours in Judgment or Practice: Are not the writings of the firſt Age very few, or obſcure? Are not many of theſe and after Ages loſt or Corrupted? Yea other later writings are deceatfully emitted under the name of Ancient Times and Perſons, ſo that in ſuch a miſt, it is hard to determine what was written by theſe Fathers, what not: Later, Corrupt or Inadvertant writters about theſe former times, did ſpeak of Perſons and things, under the abuſed Names which were corruptly uſed in their own times: And the writtings of particular Perſons (ſuppoſe of greateſt Antiquity) do rather hold forth their own private Opinion, or the Practice of the Time and Place wherein they lived, then the Univerſal Judgment and Practice of the Church in all Times

and Places. And if they will Sanctuary themselves in primitive Times, let it be cleared what is meant by *Primitive*; For if the two first Ages be meant, it is more then they can do, to prove by sufficient Authority, that there was then such a Prelacy, as is before mentioned, or now usurped and exercised; If after ages be meant, wherein the Church grew more corrupt, and Prelacy did aspire and exalt itself, to an Universal Supremacy in the Bishop of *Rome*, and establishment of that Antichristian Hierarchy, then indeed they are like themselves, for twins were never more like in face, then the present Prelats resemble the Romish, but then it were Candor in them, to tell plainly, that Papacy and Prelacy are of one Original, with this difference, that Prelacy is the first born, or rather the Father which begat the other; And if they mean a Middle time, betwixt these Periods, wherein indeed Bishops were first known in the Church, and will reckon their descent from them, why are they so unlike unto them, that they look neither like Sons nor Successors? Ask those who have dived into these depths of Antiquity, and they will tell, that a present Prelat, and a faithful Presbyterian Pastor (or Moderator at most) do little more differ, then the present Prelats and these first Primitive Bishops: For as it was long before such a thing was known in the Church, so when thorow the Malice and Subtilty of Sathan, the Ambition of some Church-men, the Unwatchfulness of others, and Indulgence of some Magistrats it did creep in, at first it was intended and acknowledged for no more, then a Prudential Humane device for greater Unity (a Cure, because without warrant, worse then the disease, which, as the Apostles never prescribed in their own times, though there were then many Divisions, so there is alike Reason to Extend further to Papal Supremacy, in the case of divisions amongst Prelats and Patriarches) and had never the impudence to aspire (with some present Prelats) so high as

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a *Jus Divinum*; At first theſe Primitive Bishops, being Elected by other Presbyters, with consent of the people, and not by the Civil Magistrat only, as now the Prelats are by the Kings Letter to the Dean and Chapter, were Ordained by the laying on of the hands of Presbyters, and not of Bishops only, as the Prelats are; Their Ordination was not Essentially different from that of Presbyters, nor to an Order distinct from, and Superior to that of Presbyters or Pastors, as the Consecration of the Prelats is alleaged to be; Neither did they (though perhaps they had a negative voice) usurp the sole power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, nor Exerce the Acts thereof, without the potestative Concurrence of Other Presbyters, as now the Prelats do; Many of them being Holy, Humble, and Sober in their conversation toward the people and other Presbyters, did not (with the present Prelats) assume the lofty Tittles of *Lordship*, *Grace*, &c. Nor live and ride in such state and pomp, claming and taking the preference of the greatest Peeres of the Land; Ordinarly, and especially at the beginning, they had not such vast charges, as now the Prelats have Diocies over Hundreds of Pastors, and many Thousands of people, to whom it is utterly impossible to perform Ministerial duties; Being diligent Preachers themselves, they were not, as the Prelats are, Idle drons, nor Non-residenrs, nor yet of a strange language to the people, as *Wallace*, through his ignorance of the Irish tougne, aud almost of all others except his Mothers, must be a Barbarian to his Diocy of the Western-Isles; Neither did they involve themselves in Secular affairs and Offices, then which, what is there more absurd in Reason, and repugnant to Scriptural precept and Example? For Christ Himself telleth us, that his Kingdome is not of this World, *Joh.* 18: *ver.* 38. and how can his Officers be of it? He refused to be a Judge, *Luc.* 12: 14. And, speaking to the Disciples of Civil Authority and

Dominion, ſaith, it ſhall not be *So* amongſt yow; *Mat.* 20: *ver.* 25. *Luc.* 22: *ver.* 25: And the Apoſtle *Paul* telleth us, that Miniſterial weapons are not *Carnal*. 2 *Cor.* 10: *ver.* 4: And that the Miniſters of the Goſpel ſhould not entangle themſelves with the *affairs of this Life* 2 *Tim.* 2: *ver.* 4: That the Miniſterial calling is ſo weighty, that the beſt qualified and moſt diligent is not *ſufficient* for it, 2 *Cor.* 2: *ver.* 16. how then are they ſufficient for it, and civil affairs too? And therefore they ſhould *Wait* upon it, *Rom.* 12: *ver.* 7: and give themſelves *wholly* to it. 1 *Tim.* 4: *ver.* 15. and not wait (as the Prelats do) upon Courts, Parliaments, Council, Convention of Eſtats, &c. as members thereof, nor Exerce the office of Provoſts, Juſtices of peace, &c. Nor will it excuſe them, that they commit Miniſterial inſpection of the flock to Deputs: For if they be Shepherds, ſhould not the *Shepherds feed* the flock? *Ezeck.* 34: *ver.* 2. If to them be committed the Miniſtery, Teaching, Exhorting, ſhould they not themſelves *Wait* upon theſe? *Rom.* 12: 7: If they muſt give accompt of Souls, ſhould they not *Watch* for them? *Heb.* 13: *ver.* 17: And if the Lord will *require* the flock at their hand. *Ezek.* 34: *ver.* 10: how will they anſwer to God, the people, their own Conſcience (if they have any) or to others who ask a reaſon of them, for *feeding of themſelves* only, and committing the flock to Others, and eſpecially to ſuch who are ſo far from being Learned, Holy, Apt to teach, Blameleſs, of a good report, Chaſt, Sober, Grave, Lovers of good men, Meek and Gentle, as the Scripture requireth, that many are Novices, Ignorant, Prophane, Light, Given to Wine, Falſe, Covetous, Contentious, Proud, Paſſionat, and Self willed, and ſo far from taking *heed to the flock*, or being an *Example* to them, in Word, Converſation, Charity, Spirit, Faith and Purity, that they neither *take heed to themſelves*, nor *rule their own families well*? I remember that one ſpeaking of

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such as commit the flock to Vicar-Curats (as all are who serve under Prelacy) saith, *Adibunt per Vicarios in Paradisum, in Persona in Inferos.* They shall go to Heaven by their Deputs, but to Hell in Person. These men (if I may borrow an allusion from the duty and commendation of faithfull and approven Ministers) have taken forth the Precious from the Vile, and taught the people the difference betwen the Holy and Profane, and caused men to discern betwen the Unclean and the Clean; but mark How, and for what End? Is it not by making *sad the hearts of the Righteous*, whom they have selected, and set up as the Only object of all their Malice and persecution, and *Strengthening the hands of the Wicked*, whom they have taken into their bosome, as their Only Familiars and Confidents. The one they thurst with the side and shoulder, the other they do not suffer to turn from his evill way, by promising him life. But if any desire more particular information about them, amongst other places to that purpose, let them read and consider, *Ier.* 23. 9. to 33. and 5. 31. *Ezek.* 34. 1. to 11. and 22. 25. 26. 28. *Zeph.* 3. 4. *Mal.* 2. 8. 9. *Mat.* 23. and (as face answereth to face in water) they shall see their Call, Qualities, Doctrine, Conversation, Works and Influence amongst the people, and the Effects of all, together with their righteous Doom and Reward. He hath already made Contemptible and Base before the people, those who have corrupted the Covenant of *Levy*, and being partiall in the Law, have made many to stumble thereat, and will he not cause to cease from feeding of the flock, those who feed themselves, eat the fat and cloth with the wooll, but do not (for indeed they cannot) strengthen the desas.d, heall the sick, bind up that which is broken, bring back that which is driven away, nor seek that which is lost? They have not only turned his house of Prayer into a den of Theeves, but from them is profanness gone forth over all the Land, and seing

they deserve no more honourable *Exit*, will he not scourge out of his Temple, those who have sold Faith and a good Conscience for a mease of pottage? Yea seing He hath said it, we will beleeve, that He will make the false Prophet and the Unclean Spirit pass out of the Land, and that these men shall bear the Wounds or marks of False Prophets, and for shame shall deny (for lies are their ordinary refuge) that ever they were prophets, And that Others, perhaps their neareſt Relations, the Fathers and Mothers who begat them, shall so little esteem, regard or Pity them, that they shall accompt them unworthy to live (*Ye shall not Live*) And that He will again gather those that are now sorrowfull for the solemn Assemblies, that he will search for the flock, seek that which was lost, bring back that which was driven away, bind up that which was broken, & strengthen that which was sick, by the hand of Pastors after his own Heart, who, under and after the Example of the great shepherd DAVID, shall feed them in a good pasture with Wisedome and Understanding. To all this, as well as the Curse upon them who make the blind to wander out of the way, let all the People say, *Amen.*

Neither are they who plead an *Indifferency* of Forms of Government, more Scriptural or Rationall then the Former: for it seemeth equally absurd & incosinstant with the Faithfulness of J. Christ, who was faithfull to Him who appointed him; With the Lords way of dealing with the Jewish Church, whereunto he preseribed a Specifical and Fixed Form of Government; And with the Perfection and Plainness of the Holy Scriptures, wherein all Church Assemblies, Officers, Powers, Acts, and who should Exercethe same, & every other thing neceſſarily belonging thereunto, which the Light of Nature doth not teach, and is not common to it with Civill Government and Order, are clearly held forth, Expreſſly or by neceſſary Conſequence, in Speciall or Generall directions and warrantable Examples (as appeareth

peareth by the many debats Extant thereanent) to leave the Government of his Church Indifferent, and Arbitrarily determinable and alterable, according to the will of the Civill Magistrat, or the various and mutable humours and Inclinations of Persons, Times and Places, or the pretended conveniency of Civil Policy, as to leave Doctrin and Worship thus Indifferent, and arbitrarily determinable and variable, according to these crooked and changable rules: If Church Government must be Indifferent, and thus arbitrarily determinable and Ambulatory, because the Holy Scripturs do not Expressly affirme, that Presbyterial Government is the *Only* Government, which should be in the Christian Church, and also Expressly declare, that it is *Unalterable* to the worlds end, and that the first Institution and Practice thereof, by the Apostles and their Successors in the Ministry, never was nor shall be *Repealed*, why may not the Civil Magistrat, or any other arrogating a power of Instituting or Altering Church Government or Officers, by Parity of reason, make many other Necessary and Practicall points of Faith, which are not more Expressly declared by the Holy Scriptures to be Unalterable Truths, then Presbyterial Government is (though all be evident enough) to be also Indifferent, & arbitrarily determinable & mutable? & then farewel Infant-baptisme, Womens receaving of the Lords Supper, & observation of the first day of the week for the Christian Sabbath, yea, farewel Law & Testimony, & more sure Word of Prophecy, whereunto we should go & take heed; & for a new Rule of Faith & Practice, welcome Humane Prudence, State-Policy, Corrupt & Changable Disposition of man, & pretended Necessity or Conveniency of State, Time & Place; yea welcome all Doctrins & Practices, which though they were once positively prohibited, can alleage that the Scripture doth not Expressly declare, that they never were nor shall be repealed. And where are we then? In vain is the Law, in vain is the pen of the Scribe, and every one, without transgression,

may

may do what seemeth good in his own eyes, if only he can Temporize, and offend not the Civil Magistrat, by violation of his Arbitrary Institutions and Lawes in Church affairs, wherein he must be Supream. *O my soul, come not into the secrets of such Latitudinarians, or rather* (in this) *Nullifidian Adiaphoristes.* We would not be here mistaken, as if we denyed to the Civil Magistrat any Power, which the Holy Scriptures allow unto Him; for as we assert his Office to be an Ordinance of God, and his Person (being lawfully therewith vested) to be signally impressed with a special Character of Majestick Authority, wherefore, in a due Subordination to Him who is Lord over all, He should be subjected to and obeyed; So we chearfully grant, that, whereas the Heathen Magistrat (because of his Morall incapacity to Exerce more power) about Religion and Ecclesiastical affairs, hath only a Power in *Actu signato* and *Ius ad rem*, the Christian Magistrat hath *Ius in re*, and in *Actu Exercito* may and should by his Lawes establish the true Religion within his dominions, and command his Subjects to make publick profession thereof; That by his Civil Sanction he may and should Ratify Ecclesiasticall Sentences, aggreeable to the Word of God; That anent these he may and should Exercise an Antecedent Discretive Iudgment, whereby he may not adde an Implicit approbation; That for Preaching and Propagation of the Gospel, and for nursing of Piety and Learning, he may and should provide Necessary and Convenient accommodation and encouragement, as to Persons, Places and Revenues; That for his own Information and Advice, he may call Occasionall Meetings of Church Officers and others, to Confer and Debate matters before him; That *Pro re nata* he may Convocate Ecclesiasticall Synods, to reason and conclude Church affairs according to the Scripture; That for his own Information, and for preventing of Outward Force and Inward Confusion, he may be Present therein by Himself

or

or his Delegats; That by his Power he may and should Defend and Encourage the Church, in the free and peaceable Poſſeſſion of all her Intrinſecall Priviledges, and all the Members thereof, in the Profeſſion and Practice of the ſame; That by the ſame Authority he may and should repreſs Error, Hereſy, Superſtition, Atheiſme, blaſphemy and Profanneſs, and Punish the Authors and Spreaders thereof; That in caſe of negligence, he may Command all, and even Miniſters, to perorme their reſpective duties in general, as neceſſity requireth; And that for Civil tranſgreſſions, he may Civilly puni h Eccl ſiaſtical Perſons, as well as other Subjects, according to the Law of God and Righteous Lawes of the Land: The Zealous diſcharge of all which, we would thankfully acknowledg to God and Man, as the Faithfull performance of that gracious Promiſe, that *Kings ſhall be the Churches nurſing Fathers*. But if diſcontented herewith, as if all this, together with the Weighty affairs of the Common wealth, were too little work for his Tranſcendent Power and Abilities, and as if Jeſus Chriſt had no Kingdom or Government, or th ſe were not diſtinct from the Kingdoms and Government of the World, or though th y were, as if he were equally Head and Fountain of both, He will needs a bitrarily Inſtitut or Alter, the *Species* of Church Government; Authoriſe, Exauthoriſe or Reſtrain Church-Officers, in the Exerciſe of the Power of Order or Juriſdiction, in whole or in part, as the *Parliament* and *Councill* have prohibited ſome Hundreds the whole Exerciſe of their Miniſtry, and the *High Commiſſion* (which claimeth no power, but what is ſolely and immediatly derived from the King) hath deprived ſome from the Office, & interdicted Others the adminiſtration of the Lords Supper; If he will Define Articles of Faith, and preſcribe what heads of Doctrine, Miniſters ſhall treat or not treat of in their Sermons, as the King hath done in his printed Letter to the Biſhop of *York*; And thereupon

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Primarily, Immediatly, and Antecedently to any Judgment of the Church, which is the Pillar of Truth, and to which the Spirits of the Prophets are Subject, Cognosce and Determine of Ministers Doctrine, when the Church herself is willing and ready to try the Spirits; And Criminally or Capitally punish them therefore, under the pretence of Treason and Rebellion, as several instances can be adduced against King and Councill in the *series* of our Church; If he will Ordain particular Church Censurs to to be executed against particular persons, for particular definite Ecclesiastical (alleaged) offences, leaving nothing undone by Himself in person, but the Execution of what he hath appointed, As the Parliament hath appointed Suspension and Deprivation of Ministers, for not observing the Bishops meetings, and the King in his Commission to the *High Commission* hath appointed Excommunication, whereas they may as well Immediatly Suspend, Deprive and Excommunicat themselves, as Appoint them to be executed in the manner specified in the said Act of Parliament and Commission; If after the example of Antichristian or Pagan Nations, he will Institut and Enjoin Needless, Vain, Superstitious, Significant and Burdensome Rits in the Worship of God, as most of the Imposed Ceremonies in the Lyturgy, can be instructed be; If he will arrogate the Sole Power of convocating Ecclesiastical Synods, which is an Intrinsecall priviledg of the Church, whereof She was in Possession three hundred years before there was a Christian Magistrat in the world Authorizing it; And will Imprison, Confine, Condemn, and Banish Ministers, for pleading and Practising this Right, as King *James* did not a few in and about the Year 1606. and the Present King of late, by Parliament, Council and Commissioner, did interdict all the Lawfull Assemblies of the Church, which did not derive their Power from the Abjured and Perjured Prelats; and if he will not only claim the only power of indicting

Solemn

Lolemn Faſts and Thankſgivings, as *de Facto* is done theſe Eor 6 years paſt, but alſo inſtitute a day to be Aniverſarily is loly for ever, which no mortal man can do; If, I ſay, otle will thus Invade the Kingdom of Chriſt, confound it thith the Kingdoms of the World, and equally Exerce the Governments of both, no man needs pronounce, but rather fear the Domeſticall and Perſonall doom, Executed upon *Saul* and *Uzziah* for uſurping the Prieſts office. How inequall dealing is it, that He who clamoureth ſo much of other men, and particularly Miniſters wandering without their ſphere, and overſtretching-meddling with Civil affairs, ſhould himſelf be Circumſcribed and move within no Fixed ſphere? Is it not enough that He have a Power Objectively Eccleſiaſticall, about Church affaires, but he muſt alſo have a Power Formally Eccleſiaſticall, whereby he may Exerce Acts purely Spiritual, and proper to Church Officers? Will it not ſuffice him, that he have an Externall Power, of providing for the Church, and protecting of her from Outward Violence or Inward Diſorder, but he muſt alſo have an Internall power, of Doctrin, Government, and Diſciplin, & the ſeveral Forms & Acts thereof? Is is not Sufficent that he have an Imperat Power, whereby He may command all his Subjects, as ſuch, to do their reſpective duties; but he muſt alſo have and Elicit power, whereby he may at leaſt materially or equivalently Exerce Spirituall Acts in his own perſon? Will it not pleaſe him, that he have a Civil Power of Puniſhing Church Officers, as Subjects, for Civil tranſgreſſions, but he muſt alſo have a Spiritual Power of Cenſuring them for Eccleſiaſticall offences? Will it not content him that he have a Secundary Power of Judiciall Approbation or Condemnation of what the Church hath already found and declared to be Truth or Error, but he muſt alſo have a Primary and Immediat Power of Cognition of Truth and Error, Antecedent to any Judgment of the Church thereanent? Will it

not

not satisfy him, that he have a Discretive Power, whereby he may not Implicitely Ratify Ecclesiasticall Sentences, but he must also have a Definitive Power of Authoritative Decision? And in a word, is it not enough, that he have a Cumulative Power of Confirming and Strengthening the Power and Priviledges of the Church, but he must also have a Privative Power, whereby (if he please) he may destroy the same?

That the Lord hath had, and to the Worlds end will have a Church, none who beleeve the Authority of the Holy Scriptures can deny or question; And that he hath fixed Discriminative boundaries betwen his own and the Kingdoms of the Earth (that is, betwen his Church and other Civil Societies, and their respective Governments) is no less evident: For though both consist of Men, and sometimes of the same Persons; though both have Order and Government; a Power to Exercise the same, and that Derived from God; and the Persons invested therewith should be qualified; and in the Exercise thereof should walk Absolutely by the Rule of the Word; Punishing and Censuring after clear Conviction by Confession or Probation; And should Ultimatly aime at the Glory of God, and Good of the People; and for that effect be mutually subservient and useful one to another (in these, amongst other things, they aggree) Yet they are Formally distinct: For they consist of men under distinct Notions and Relations; Civil Society and Policy is founded upon the Light and Law of Nature, Ecclesiasticall by Revealed Positive precept; The one is Common to all men as Men, the other is Peculiar to those who profess the True God; The Form of the one may be Monarchical, the other not; The object of the one is Civil, the other is Spirituall; The Nature of the one and Manner of Exerceing it, is Magisterial, the Other Ministerial; The Acts and Sentences of the one are Corporall, the other Spiritual; The Immediat Rule of Exerceing the one is the

Lawes

wes of the Land; and the other the Word of God and Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions aggreeable thereunto; The one performed in the Name of the Supream Magiſtrat, the other in the Name of Jeſus Chriſt; The Immediat End of the one is the Good of the Common-wealth, the other the Good of Souls. Yea though the Church and Common-wealth of the Jewes, of all others that ever were, did moſt aggree, yet were they *Formally* diſtinct: for they had ordinarily diſtinct *Rulers*, the Prieſt and Levits for the one, Judges and King's for the other; They had diſtinct *Acts* Sacrificing, praying &c. in the Church, Death, Banishment, Confiſcation, Inpriſonment, *Ezra* 2:26. in the State; They had diſtinct *Objects*, the Matters of the *Lord* and the Matters of the *King*, 2 *Chron.* 19. 11; Diſtinct *Lawes*, the Ceremoniall for the Church, the Judicial for the Common-wealth, and the Morall for both; They had ſometimes diſtinct *Members*, when theſe of the One, were not admitted to ſome Priviledges of the Other; The *Form* of the State did alter from Judges to Kings, but the Churches was unalterably the ſame; And they had their diſtinct Periods of Duration, for the Church continued (though corrupt) after the Civil Government was overturned by the Romans.

And as the Church and State of the Jewes were in theſe things diſtinct, ſo had they their diſtinct Governments, and Judicatories for Exerceing the ſame Reſpectively; For *Exo.* 24. 1. there are 70. Elders, who *v.* 14. appear to be veſted with Authority, and to have *Aaron* and *Hur* for their Preſidents or Moderators; now theſe 70 Elders cannot be the 70, who *Numb.* 11. ſhared of the Government with *Moſes*, for theſe mentioned *Exod.* 24. were in Authority when the *Iſraelits* were at *Sinai*, whereas the other mentioned *Numb.* 11. were choſen after they went from *Sinai*; neither can they be any other 70 in Civil Authority, becauſe before the Election of thoſe *Numb.* 11. *Moſes* was

alone in the Government. Again *Deut.* 17: there are distinct *causes viz. Blood* & *Blood, plea* and *plea*, which were Civill, and *Stroke* and *Stroke*, which (whether it was Leprosy) belonged to the Priests to Judge of; *Lev.*13. 3; Distinct *Rulers. viz.* the *Priests the Levits*, and the *Judge*, who *v.*11. are distinguished by the disjunctive particle *Or*; Distinct *Acts of telling* (or exponing) *the Sentence of the Law*, & of *telling Judgment v.* 10. 11; & distinct *Penalties*, of *Death*, and *puting the Evill from Israel, v* 12. Further in 1 *Chr.*23.4. Ye will find 6000 of the Levites who were *Officers* and *Judges*, which must needs have been in Ecclesiastical affairs, because, 1 *Chron.* 28: 1. there were Princes of Tribs, Captains of Thousands, Hundreds, Stewarts and Officers, for Civil affairs. And, 2 *Chron.* 19: 8, *&c.* there are *Church Officers*, *Priests*, *Levits*, *chief of the Fathers*; there are distinct *Matters*, *the Matters of the Lord and the Matters of the King. Ver.* 11. There are distinct *Acts* or Sentences, for *Warning not to trespass* is more proper to Ecclesiastical then Civil Persons; And there are distinct *Moderators* or *Presidents*, *Amariah is over you for the Matters of the Lord*, *and Zebadiah for the Matters of the King*. Now what should all this mean, *viz.* Distinct causes, and Persons set over them to Judge them respectively, and what meaneth these distinct Acts, Sentences and Penalties, if not to hold out the Distinction of Government, and of Judicatories respectively exercing the same? Yea what was in the Old Testament, we may know by what we read in the New, for *Matth.* 21: *ver.* 23. and 27: *ver.* 1. and 26: *v.* 3, 57, 59. *Act.* 4: *v.* 5, 6, 15. and 5: *v.* 21, 27. there are *Assemblies* & *Councils*, which must needs be Ecclesiastical: not only because they consisted of Ecclesiastical persons, the *High Priest*, *Cheef Priests* and *Elders of the People*; Cognosced of Ecclesiastical Causes, the *life*, *Doctrin* and *Authority* of Christ and his Apostles; And past Ecclesiastical Sentences about preaching in the Name

of

of Christ, *Act.* 4, and 5. But also because (the Jewes being subdued) the Supreme civil Government was taken out of their hands, and little left them but the Ecclesiastical. And if at any time, in the Old Testament, the same persons were members of both Judicatories, it was under distinct Notions and considerations, as Ecclesiastical in the one, and Civil in the Other; As now the Ruling Elder, under several Considerations and Capacities, may be a member of an Ecclesiastical and Civil Iudicatory. It is true that the High Priests and some Kings had great hand in both Civil & Ecclesiastical affairs, but Extraordinary, and (may be) Typicall instances are not an Ordinary and Universal Rule; And it may be also, that in the New Testament these Councils meddled in Civil Affairs, for *Matth.* 27: *ver.* 1. they *take counsel against Iesus to put him to death*, but that was by Corrupt Abuse of their Power, which crept in, in the declining State of the Church, and when the Civil Government was taken from them by strangers, or when, wanting a Magistrat, they took more upon them then at another time; for it was not so from the beginning, and was by the like Corrupt and Extravagant Abuse, as now the *High Commission* (if it be an Ecclesiastical Courr) doth Scourge, Stigmatize, Fine and Banish, or the Prelats now as Members of *Parliament, Council*, and *Session*, make themselves Judges of *Blood, Pleas*, &c. And as this was the Manner & Difference of the Jewish Church and State under the Old Testament, so under the New Testament, there is by Divine Institution, a *Formal* and *Spetifical* Difference, between the Government of the Church and Common-wealth: For ye will not only find Office-bearers Given unto, and Set *in the Church. Rom.* 12: *ver.* 8. 1 *Cor.* 12: *ver.* 28. *Ephes.* 4: *ver.* 11. Which are as wel Distinct from Office-bearers of the State as from the People, for neither Magistrat nor People were ever called *Apostles, Prophets*,

*Evangeliſts*, &c. eſpecially in the Apoſtles ſenſe; But alſo RULERS, diſtinct from the Rulers of the Common-wealth, who 1 *Theſſ.* 5: *ver.* 12. are *Over* the People, and *Hebr.* 13: *ver.* 17. *Rule over* them. Now theſe Rulers cannot be the Magiſtrat, for in none of the places doth the Apoſtle Intend or Mention him. Beſids, at that time there was not a Chriſtian Magiſtrat to Rule the State, and how should the Rule of the Church be committed to a Pagan? And 1 *Tim.* 5: *ver.* 17. He that Labours in Word and Doctrin, ſeemeth to have more Honour, then He who Ruleth, which, if either Magiſtrat or Prelate be the Ruler, how they will Relish, & that the poor preaching Presbyter should be more Honoured then they, let any man Iudge. Here then are Eccleſiaſtical Rulers, diſtinct from theſe of the Common-wealth. To theſe Rulers belongeth the Cognition of Eccleſiaſtical Offences, in Contradiſtinction to Civil Cauſes and Iudges; *Matth.* 18. —— *Tell the Church:* Now the Civil Magiſtrat cannot be this Church, where is He ever ſo termed? Or how will He, (being himſelf a Heathen) accompt another man ſo: Here then is a *Church* diſtinct from the Common-wealth; here are Church-Offences diſtinct from Breaches of Civil or Municipall Lawes; here is Church-Delation or Complaint, diſtinct from any complaint to the Magiſtrat, *tell the Church*; and conſequently, here is a Church-power of Cognition of theſe Offences, diſtinct from that which reſids in the Magiſtrat, elſe it were in vain to *tell the Church*, and as good or better to *tell the Magiſtrat*; And here is a Church-Sentence, *Let him be unto thee as a Heathen*, which the Magiſtrat, being then Heathen himſelf, would never pronounce againſt, or inflict as a Punishment upon another man. To theſe Church-Rulers alſo is committed not only the Power of Order, or Paſtorall Adminiſtration of Word and Sacraments, but alſo the Power of Juriſdiction, whether Dogmatical, Diatacticall, Critical, or Exuſiaſtical, and

not

not to the Civil Magistrat; And accordingly Jesus Christ giveth the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven to *Peter* and not to *Cesar Mat.* 16. 19; Ye will find Church-Assemblies, distinct from Parliaments, Convention of Estats, Senats, &c. (yea when the Magistrat was an Enemy) determining questioned Matters of Faith and Practice, *Act.* 15: The Apostle *Paul* enjoineth the Church of *Corinth* and not the Magistrat, both to Excommunicat and Absolve the Incestuous man, 1 *Cor.* 5. 4. 5. and 2 *Cor.* 2. 7. 8: The same Apostle leaveth *Titus* and not the Magistrat to Ordain Elders in Every City. *Tit.* 1. *v.* 5; and accordingly it is performed by the Presbytery, and not by the Magistrat, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14: The Apostle *John* thereateneth by Himself and not by the civil Magistrat, to Censure *Diotrephes*, 3. *John* 10. And as the Power it self, and the several Acts thereof are Committed to Church-Officers; So to them and not to the Civil Magistrat, are all the Directions given for Regulation of the Exercise thereof, distinct from the Directions given to the Magistat for Regulation of the affairs of the Common-wealth: and so in the case of Offence, there must be private rebuke before Publick delation, *Mat.* 18:15, 16, 17. In the case of Publick Scandal, there must be a Rebuking before all, 1 *Tim.* 5: 20: In the case of Publick Censure, there must be Notoriety of the Fault 1 *Cor.* 5. 1. or sufficient conviction of the Person, by Confession or Probation, *Mat.* 18. 15; In the case of Excommunication, it must be when the Church is gathered together, 1 *Cor.* 5. 4. and not (after the Prelatical fashion) in a corner; In the case of Absolution, there must be sufficient evidence of Repentance, 2 *Cor.* 2. 7; In the case of Ordination of Ministers, there must be the Election of the People, *Act.* 6. 3, 4, 5. Trial, 1. *Tim.* 3: 10. & laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. and they must be Fixed to particular flocks, *Tit.* 1. 5. How distinct are these, and all other Directions given to Church-Officers for Regulation thereof, from the directions

given to the civill Magiſtrat for Regulation of the Commonwealth? And the Church Officers, & not the civil Magiſtrat, are Commended or Diſcommended according as they faithfully or unfaithfully Exerce this Power and follow theſe Directions: So the *Angel* of the Church of *Epheſus* (which I hope none will ſay was the Magiſtrat) is commended for Trying them which ſaid they were Apoſtles and were not, *Revel* 2. 2. It was not the Emperor, Senat, &c. that tryed theſe falſe Apoſtles, as of late the *Parliament, Council, High Commiſſion*, ejected many Hundreds of faithful Miniſters without Trial; The *Angels* of the Churches of *Pergamus* and *Thyatira* are diſcommended, for tollerating falſe Doctrin and Corrupt Practice, *v.* 14. 15. 20. ſo is the Church of *Corinth* blamed for not timeous Excommunicating of the Inceſtuous Perſon. 1 *Cor.* 5. For the like Ommiſſions which are reproved in theſe Angels, I know them who now deſerve a ſharper cenſure, *ſed quod defertur non auferetur.*

From all which, as the Formal & Specifical Difference betwixt the Power and Government of Church and Common wealth is aboundantly evident; So Jeſus Chriſt Himſelf, & not the civil Magiſtrat, is the *Author & Fountain* of Church-Power and Government; Then which, there can be nothing more clear to them who do not wilfully shut their own eyes, or whom the God of this world hath not blinded: For, beſids that Himſelf telleth us, that He hath receaved all Power and Judgement from the Father, *Mat.* 28. *ver.* 18. *John.* 5. 22. and *John* beareth him that Teſtimony. *John* 3. 35. And who should derive Power to others, but He who receaved it for that end? Let us conſider his Name and Relation to the Church; In what Relation he ſtandeth to the Common-wealth or civil Magiſtrat, I do not here inquire, but the Apoſtle tells us, that *He*, and not the civil Magiſtrat, is *Head* of the Church *Epheſ.* 1. 22. and 5. 23. &, *as ſuch*, he doth not only Myſtically communicat inward Grace to the members, but Oeconomically

nomically derive Power and Direction for the Outward Regulation of the whole body. How then can the Magistrat be Head of the Church, or supream Governor in all causes Ecclesiastical? Must the Church have two Heads, or a Head above a Head? Why may not a Church Officer or Officers, as well claim (with the Pope) to be Head of the Common-wealth? Will they shew us a Warrant from Scripture or Reason for the one, which will not as strongly plead for the other? Well then, let Christ be still Head of the Church. And as such, Ye will find *Him*, and not the civil Magistrat, *Instituting* all Church-Ordinances for Administration of Word and Sacraments, *Mat.* 28: 19. 1 *Cor.* 11: 23. for Excommunication and Absolution, *Matt.* 18: 17, 18. and all other Acts of Government and Disciplin: Ye will find *Him*, and not the civil Magistrat. *Instituting* Church-Offices; *He* it is who *gave*, *Ephes.* 4: 11. and *sett* in the Church, 1 *Cor.* 12: *v.* 28. Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Teachers, &c. And who is he that dare alter by addition or diminution? Ye will find *Him*, and not the civil Magistrat, *Authorizing* these Officers to Exerce the Several Acts of the Power of Order and Jurisdiction, *Mat.* 28: 19: Ye will find *Him*, & not the civil Magistrat, *Furnishing* these Church-Officers, with Gifts and Graces for their work; as none goeth here upon their own Expences, so can any Magistrat breath the Holy Ghost, as Christ did upon his Apostles? *Ioh.* 20. 22. In *His* Name, and not in name of the Magistrate, must they performe all Church-Acts; they must Assemble, *Mat.* 18: 20. Baptise, *Mat.* 28: 19. Excommunicat, 1 *Cor.* 5: *ver.* 4. and do all in *His* Name: *He*, and not the Magistrat, maketh Lawes Absolutely and Primarily oblieging to the Church and Church-Officers, and therefore is *He* called the *Lawgiver*, *Isai.* 33: 22. *Iam.* 4: 12: *He*, and not the civil Magistrat, will call Church-Rulers to their final Accompt; An Accompt they must give, *Hebr.* 13: 17. & to whom but to Him that gave them Commission, and is

*Iudge*? *Isai.* 33: 22. And in recognition of all this, the Apostle *Paul* acknowledgeth that the Lord Jesus, and not the civil Magistrat, *Giveth* Ministerial *Power* and *Authority*, 2 *Cor.* 10: 8. and 2 *Cor.* 13, 10: And because of this, they are called the *Ministers of Christ*, 1 *Cor.* 4: 1. and *Ambassadors for Christ*, 2 *Cor.* 5: 20. and not *of*, or *for* the Magistrat, as now the King termeth the Prelats *Our Bishops*: *His* Servants they are, & therefore should not be Pleasers of Man, nor of the Magistrat, *Gal.* 1: 10. as they ought to be, if he gave them Commission: If the Magistrat, *as such*, be Head of the Church, and Fountain of Church Power and Government, I would gladly know, how or whence the Apostles, their Successors and others in the Ministery, had power to Teach or Govern the Church, when there was no Christian Magistrat to derive Power to them? Or whether they had any Power at all, or were but Usurpers? Or what the Church shall do for Power when the Magistrat is Heathen, Antichristian, or a Woman, Child, a Fooll, a Tyrant, or Heretick, &c. Shall the Church all this time want a Head? Or shall the Body of Christ, have a Pagan-Head? Shall a Woman, who must not speak in the Church, be Head of the Church? shall a child or Idiot, who cannot Govern themselves, have the External Regulation of the Church? Or shall Cruell Tyrants, who oppress or destroy the Common-wealth, and Bodies of men, have the Regulation of the Church, & of the Souls of men? We may then go to the Pope, the Turk, the wild Indian-Infidels and Savages, for a Head to the Church before She want; for whatsoever belongeth to one man, as a Magistrat, belongeth to all Magistrats: But we will hold us content with the Head, *Iesus Christ*, which the Father hath given us.

Now from this, that Church-Power and Government are thus distinct from the Civil, and that Jesus Christ and not the Magistrat, is Author and Fountain thereof, it evidently followeth, that it is not *Subordinat* to the Magi-

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trat. It is true, that the Magiſtrat hath much Power Objectively Eccleſiaſticall, and that Church Officers, as *Subjects*, are ſubject to him; yet Eccleſiaſtical Power it-ſelf, is not Properly Subordinat to the Civil. This will the more appear, not only becauſe it is not Derived from the Magiſtrat, as the Head or Fountain thereof, nor is Exerced in his Name, but alſo if we conſider, that Proper Subordination, is only in things flowing from the ſame Fountain, and of the ſame Nature, whereas civill and Eccleſiaſticall Powers are neither from the ſame Immediat Fountain (if the one be from *Iehovah* Eſſentially conſidered, and as great Lord Creator and Gubernator of the World, the other from the Lord *Redeemer*, Head and King of his Church) nor yet are they of the ſame, but different Natures, as is ſaid before: Again, if it were properly Subordinat to the civil Power, then the Magiſtrat himſelf, might Exerce all Eccleſiaſticall Acts, in the Adminiſtration of Word and Sacraments, as well as of Juriſdiction; for as no reaſon can be adduced, why He may Inſtitute or Alter Church Government or Officers, or Exerce the External Regulation thereof, which will not by parity of ſtrength infer his Exercing Acts of Order; So, every Superior Power including all the Inferior, He may as well Exerce all Eccleſiaſtical Power, as civil, if the One be Subordinat to the Other: And further, the Magiſtrat himſelf, as a Chriſtian, is but a Member of the Church, and Subject to Church-Government and Diſcipline, though it ſhould not be practiſed, except for moſt weighty Cauſes, in great neceſſity, and with ſingular Prudence, and all due Reſpect and Reverence to Civil Authority, and the Perſon therewith veſted; and accordingly many Magiſtrats have been cenſured: Yea in ſome caſes, as if the Magiſtrat ſhould unjuſtly forbid to Preach, Baptiſe, Ordain, Deprive, Excommunicat &c. the Church may Exerce Church Power without and againſt His conſent, which She could not do, if it were Subordinat to

him. I know there are many clamours of the Absurdity and Inconsistency of two Collateral and Co-Ordinat Supream Powers and Governments in one Kingdom; And indeed that Absurdity and Inconsistency may hold true, of two Supream Collaterall and Co-Ordinat Powers *ejusdem Generis*, but not in this case where they are *diversi generis*: Yea of their own Natures, they are so far from being hurtful, that, being rightly mannaged, they are singularly helpfull to one another: Neither can these two Powers and Governments in a Land, import now under the New Testament greater absurdity and Inconsistancy, then under the Old, when the Jewes had their Ecclesiastical *Sanedrin*, as well as civil Courts for the affairs of the Commounwealth. Hence also it followeth, that as Ecclesiastical Power is not Subject to the civil; So, in matters Ecclesiastical, there should be no *Appellation* from the Church to the civil Magistrat: For though when Church Judicatories, without their sphere, meddle in civil Causes *as such*, or, for Ecclesiastical offences, inflict civil Punishments, they may be Declined as Judges Incompetent in the one case, & complaint of an unjust or Heterogeneous *Sentence* is lawful in the other; & though the Magistrat, before He adde his Ratification, may require a Reason of Ecclesiasticall proceedings, or, in case of an injust Sentence, may desire the Church to consider the matter again; & the Church is bound thus to give a Reason, or Consider the matter, especially in a degenerat or declining time of the Church, when more is permitted to the Faithful Magistrat, then otherwise; Yet there can be no Appellation from the Church to the Magistrat in Ecclesiastical Causes & Sentences: Not only because all Appellations are from the Inferior to the Superior in *Eodem genere*, but the Church and State are not such, as is cleared before; but also because the Church is indued with Compleat Power of Cognoscing & Final determining Ecclesiastical affairs, without dependance upon the State, and these

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Determinations, being Juſt, the Lord hath promiſed to Ratify, *Mat.* 18: 18. And the Magiſtrat, having no Formal Church Power, cannot pronounce Eccleſiaſtical Sentence, or make Redreſs by Himſelf, & ſo the Appellation is in vain. *Pauls* Appealing to *Caſar*, *Act.* 25: 11. will not help this weak cauſe; For He did not appeal in an Eccleſiaſtical cauſe, from an Eccleſiaſtical Court, to a Court of another Nature, but in a matter of alleaged Sedition, from *Feſtus* an Inferior Magiſtrat to *Caſar* the Supream. Neither is the Inſtance of *Ieremy* ſtronger then the former (*Ier.* 26: 8. 9. &c) for there is no mention of His appealing from the Prieſts to the Magiſtrat, but of his Apology before the Princes, who came to hear the matter, and their Voluntary delivering him from the Uniuſt perſecution of the Prieſts and Prophets, who were not competent Judges of Life and Death. Neither is the Exception of the Difference betwixt a Heathen and Chriſtian Magiſtrat more Valid in this matter; for (beſids all that is before ſaid) in the old Teſtament, the Government of the Church was Committed to Church-Officers, even when the Magiſtrat was Religious, and why not in the New? The Government of the Church is not committed to them, *becauſe* the Magiſtrat is Heathen, or upon Temporary, but upon other Moral and Immutable grounds, & therefore ſhould not be taken from them when he becometh Chriſtian: It is ſure, that the Church had power given unto Her to Govern Herſelf, when the Magiſtrat was Heathen, now when and where is that Power Repealed? If Church-Govenment belong to the Chriſtian Magiſtrat, then it is either *as Magiſtrat* or *as Chriſtian*, if *as Magiſtrat* or *as Chriſtian*, then (according to the known maxime) it belongeth to *Every* Magiſtrat, and ſo to the Heathen, aud to *Every* Chriſtian, both which are falſe: Was the Magiſtrat no Magiſtrat or Incompleat, when (being Heathen) he did not meddle with Church Govern-

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ment? or did the Church Usurp and Rob the Heathen Magistrat of that Power, in the Apostles dayes, and 2 or 300 years after? Shall the Church, by the promise of *Nursing Fathers*, have less Power and Privilege, or be in worse Condition, by a Christian then Heathen Magistrat? And how vain is the Distinction of Outward Regulation of the Church, and Inward, (for that must be the other terme) for the Inward Regulation thereof belongs incontrovertibly to Jesus Christ, and if the Magistrat hath the Outward, what is left to the Church? These things, which, had they been formally digested, would have been more clear and convincing, are only thus confusedly and abruptly hinted: nor should I have said so much, if (besids the Erastian Spirit, which, more then ever, doth now rage) some Parliamentary and Council-Expressions, and aggreeable practices, had not given occasion. Whether it be Primitive or not, let the Reader Judge, but sure I am, *the Kings Government of the Church and State*; *Charles, &c. Supream Governor in all causes as well Ecclesiasticall as Civil*; *The Bishops serving the King in the Church*, is neither Scriptural nor Safe Dialect. Him they may serve, and Whether or How, Time will tell; but well know I, whom they do not serve in the Church: and indeed it is proper, that they who are there, only by the Will of Man, should only serve Man. His Commissioners they are, and accordingly *Sharp* hath deposed some Ministers *by Vertue of the Power which he hath from his Majesty*, and therefore they can expect no greater Assistance, Blessing or Reward then he can give; But yet there is a greater to whom they must give an Accompt.

Having (beyond my first intention) detained Thee longer, then perhaps was Necessary, or will be Profitable or Pleasant, Thow may'st now speak with the *Deduction*, which is of age, & able to answere for itself, if according to the Patience, Learning & Justice of many, thow do not Re-

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fute and condemn before thow know it, or brandish big words, as he who upon a Coronation-day, offereth duell to all who queſtion the Kings Right, when he knoweth, that (for *Major Vis*) none dare appear in the contrary. But in the paſſing take a word of the *National Covenant*, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins and Engagement unto Duties*, that at one view, thow may'ſt ſee *Scotlands* Engagements and Breaches, the Faithfulneſs of many, & flood of Sin and Suffering that hath overflowed the Land: Here is the *Terminus a Quo* and *ad Quem* of our Backſliding, whereof, though the moſt skilled Artiſt cannot pourtray to the life the whole body (the form is ſo monſtruous & Complexion ſo ſtrange) he may well darkly repreſent ſome Lineaments of fingers and toes, that the reader may know *Ex ungue leonem*; yet the Author hath nervouſly aſſerted the Truth, and drawn matters of Fact, with ſuch True Collours, that he can only be accuſed for a Picture fairer then the live-face of many Perſons & Actions. To winde up all, be not diſcouraged upon the one hand nor inſult upon the other, by the Death of many Mighty men of God, Coworkers and Eye witneſſes of his Work, within theſe few years paſt, and the ſtripling-ſtature of many ſurvivers, who have not attained unto the dayes of the years of the life of their Fathers, and (being but of yeſterday) can know little of the Lords ancient kindneſs to the Land, except what th ir Fathers have told them: For as he hath reſerved a numerous remnant of Holy, Learned, and Faithful men, a rich cluſter wherein there is a bleſſing, and we have reaſon to bleſs Him who gave not our Church dry breaſts & a miſcarrying womb; ſo he can make the barren bear ſeven, & become a Joyful mother of many Children, and as he hath work for them, will raiſe up both Shepherds and Principal men. It is true, alas! there is grown up a moſt degenerat Off-ſpring of all Qualities,

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some whereof (and not the meaneſt) being as profane as *Machiavel*, who teacheth Rulers to keep promiſe and Oath no longer, then with pretended advantage they can break, and that it is a prejudice to be *Really* Religious, but not ſo honeſt as He, who notwithſtanding affirmeth a Neceſſity of *Seeming* to be Religious, which they are not, accompt no man to be a Man, who, by Whoring, Swearing, Drinking & Spending all or more then they have, do not clais themſelves into their new Profane Orders, & become as *Carteſian* in their Religion, by Atheiſtical doubtings & diſputings about God, the Holy Scripturs, Heaven, Hell, &c. as others are in their Philoſophy. But here is an Advantage, that by Diſcovery, and diſtinguishing betwixt the precious and the vile, the Lord hath made this Defection contribut more to the Facility (as well as Neceſſity) of a future Purgation of the Church, then all her Judicatures could ever effectuat without it. And further, as he hath fruſtrated many chief Authors and Promotters thereof of their Hopes and Deſigns, and called Nobles, Prelats and others to an accompt before they well taſted the expected ſweetneſs, or were warm in their Places or Promotions; So though *Herod* & *Pilat* may aggrie againſt the Innocent, yet where men are like *Samſons* foxes, only tied together by the tail of common Corrupt Principles, whilſt their heads, of Self Intereſt and deſigns, look different wayes, what ſuch a Poſition, Conjunction and Aſpect prognoſticateth, let Scripture, Reaſon and Experience be conſulted and they will tell. Let us not, in the meantime, miſtake Gods Work, Wayes, Doings nor Intentions, neither be envyous at evil doers, nor yet be Curious nor Anxious about futuritions, much leſs limit the Holy one, to Means, Method or Time, but bear the Indignation of the Lord becauſe we have ſinned, till he plead our cauſe, waiting upon him who is a God of Judgment, and waiteth that he may be gracious, and in patience poſſeſs our ſouls, for (though we do not) he knoweth his own thoughts toward us, it may be they are thoughts of peace, and not of evil, to give an expected end, and that (when he hath ripen'd Deliverance) he will bring us forth to the Light, & we ſhall behold his Righteouſneſs. It is a crime of the higheſt nature with our Rulers, to complain or ſupplicat for redreſs, Others are either of deaf ears or feeble hands and cannot help, and ſeeing we can do no more for the Cauſe and Covenant of God, for our Mother-Church, the Land, Our ſelves, Our Brethren & Poſterity, let us open our cauſe to him who tryeth the Righteous. *O Lord Hear, O Lord Forgive, O Lord hearken and do: Defer not for thine own ſake, O my God: For thy City and thy People are called by thy Name*, AMEN.

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# The Teſtimony of MR JAMES WOOD,

## Miniſter of the Goſpel, and Profeſſor of Theology in the Univerſity of *S. Andrewes*, for Presbyterial Government.

I MR JAMES WOOD, *being now ſhortly (by appearance) to render up my Spirit to the Lord, find my ſelf obliged to leave a word behind me, for my juſt Vindication before the World. It hath been ſaid of me, that I have (in word at leaſt) reſeiled from my wonted Zeal for* Presbyterial Government, *expreſſing my ſelf concerning it, as if it were a matter not to be accounted of, & that no man ſhould trouble himſelf in the matter & practice thereof. It is true, being under ſicknes, I have ſome times ſaid, I was taken up with weightier matters, then any external ordinance, and what wonder I ſaid ſo? being under ſuch wreſtling anent my intereſt in Ieſus Chriſt, which is a matter of far greater concernment. Surely any Chriſtian in this Church that knows me, will judge there is a wrong done to me: For ſince the day that the Lord convinced my heart (which was by a ſtrong hand) that it was the Ordinance of God, appointed by Ieſus Chriſt, for governing & ordering his viſible Church, I never had the leaſt change of thoughts, concerning the* neceſſity *of it, nor of the neceſſity of the uſe of it. And now I declare before God & the World, that I account ſo of it ſtill: And that however there be ſome more precious ordinances, yet that this is ſo precious, that a true Chriſtian is obliged to* lay down his life *for the profeſſion thereof, if the Lord ſhall ſee it meet to put him to the tryal. And for my ſelf, if I were to live, I would account it my glory, to ſeal this word of my teſtimony* with my blood. *Of this my declaration, I take God, Angels and Men to be my witneſſes, and have ſubſcribed their preſents with my hand, the 2 of* March 1664. *about 7 hours afternoon, before* Mr William Tullidaf *and* Mr John Carſtairs, *my Brother in Law, and* John Pitcairn, *writer hereof.* MR JAMES WOOD.

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AS the *Matter* of this Teſtimony is very conſiderable, eſpecially from *ſo Great* a man as *Mr Wood* was; So the occaſion & conſequents thereof are very obſervable, which were thus: *Mr Sharp*, having formerly been intimately familiar with *Mr Wood*, came to viſite him under his Sickneſs (whereunto *Sharps* Apoſtacy had no ſmall acceſſion) & thereafter did falſely ſpread a report by word & writ, that *Mr Wood* had reſciled from Presbyterial Government. Whereof when *Mr Wood* was informed, he was of new grievouſly affected and afflicted, and thereupon, for his own Vindication, left this Teſtimony behind him. But *Mr Sharp* finding himſelf thereby made a publick lyar, (making lyes ſtill his refuge) purſueth *Mr Wood* being dead, as well as alive, with a new ſlander, alleaging his Teſtimony to be Fictitious, or Extorted from him, when, through diſtemper of his ſickneſs, he knew not what he did, and thereupon cauſed ſummond the Witneſſes, the Writter and ſome other perſons before the *High Commiſſion:* But the contrary of this was and is moſt Evident, not only becauſe this Teſtimony was written and ſubſcribed, a conſiderable number of dayes before his Death, dureing which intervall (as before) he was ſo compoſed, that he ſpake many gracious words about his own ſoul, Ordered his Civil affairs, and a famous Phyſician was not without hopes of his Recovery; But alſo becauſe, hearing that ſome of his faithful Brethren & Co-Presbyters were in the town, he ſent once & again for them, and before them, and ſome other Miniſters at other times, purged himſelf of that unjuſt Imputation, and did bear witneſs for Presbyterial Government more fully & freely then is in the written Teſtimony, & ſome time thereafter, of his own accord did call for the Writter, & (there being none other preſent in the chamber at the beginning) did indite and cauſe him writ the ſame, as it now is without any Alteration; as alſo in a Letter written ſome conſiderable time before, (inviting *Mr Carſtairs* to come and viſite him) he had made mention of the Backſliding, Tryalls and Sufferings of the times, and expreſſed his deſire to Live, that he might give a more free Teſtimony to the Truth. Notwithſtanding all which, *Mr Sharp* (obſtructing the reading of a Letter written by *Mr Carſtairs* to the *Chancelor*, containing and clearing the matter of fact) perſiſted with great Atteſtations before the *High Commiſſion*, in his former falſe alleagance, and Slandering both of the Dead and the Living, and cauſed impriſon the Writer and one of the witneſſes, and forced the other (whom, for his eminent Parts, Holineſs and Faithfulneſs, he moſt purſued) to a Retirement for his own ſafety. *What ſhall be given to Thee* O Sharp! *Or what ſhall be done to Thee; O falſe Tongue? Sharp arrows of the Mighty and Coals of Juniper.*

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# The Nationall Covenant,

OR

*The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of* Scotland, *subscribed at first by the Kings Majesty and his Household, in the yeare 1580. Thereafter, by Persons of all rankes, in the yeare 1581, By ordinance of the Lords of the Secret Counsell, and Acts of the generall Assembly. Subscribed againe by all sorts of Persons in the Yeare 1590. By a new Ordinance of Councell, at the desire of the General Assembly: With a General Band for maintenance of the true Religion & the Kings Person. And now subscribed in the Year 1638. By Us, Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers, and Commons, then under-subscribing: Together, with our resolution and promises for the causes after specified, To maintaine the said true Religion, and the Kings Majesty, according to the Confession foresaid, and Acts of Parliament. And now, upon the Supplication of the Generall Assembly to His Majesty's high Commissioner, and the Lords of his Majesty's Honorable Privy Councell, subscribed again in the Year 1639. by Ordinance of Councell, and Act of General Assembly. The Tenor whereof here followeth.*

WE All, and every one of Us underwritten; Protest, that, after long and due Examination of our owne Consciences, in matters of true & false Religion, We are now throughly resolved of the Truth, by the Word and Spirit of God; and therefore we believe with our hearts, confess with our mouths, subscribe with our hands, and constantly affirme before God, and the whole Word, that this onely is the true Christian Faith and Religion, pleasing

God, and bringing Salvation to man, which now is by the mercy of God revealed to the world, by the preaching of the blessed Evangel, and receaved, believed, and defended, by many and sundry notable Kirks and Realmes, but chiefly by the *Kirk of Scotland, the Kings Majesty, and three estates of this Realme,* as Gods eternall Truth, and onely ground of our Salvation: as more particularly is expressed in the Confession of our Faith, stablished, and publickly confirmed by sundry Acts of Parliament, and now of a long time hath beene openly professed by the Kings Majesty, and whole body of this Realme both in Burgh and Land. To the which Confession and forme of Religion, wee willingly agree in our consciences in all points, as unto Gods undoubted Truth and Verity, grounded onely upon his written Word. And therefore, we abhorre and detest all contrary Religion, and Doctrine: But chiefly, all kinde of Papistry, in generall and particular heads, even as they are now damned and confuted by the *Word of God, and Kirk of Scotland*: but in special we detest and refuse the usurped authority of that Roman Antichrist upon the Scriptures of God, upon the Kirk, the civill Magistrate, and conscience of men, All his tyrannous lawes made upon indifferent things against our Christian liberty, His erronious Doctrine, against the sufficiency of the written Word, the perfection of the Law, the office of Christ, and his blessed Evangel. His corrupted Doctrine concerning originall sinne, our naturall inability and rebellion to Gods Law, our Justification by faith only, our imperfect Sanctification and obedience to the Law, the nature, number and use of the Holy Sacraments. His five bastard Sacraments, with all his Rites, Ceremonies, and false

Doctrine

Doctrine, added to the miniſtration of the true Sacraments without the Word of God. His cruell judgement againſt Infants departing without the Sacrament: his abſolute neceſſity of Baptiſme: his blaſphemous opinion of Tranſubſtantiation, or reall preſence of Chriſts body in the Elements, and receiving of the ſame by the wicked, or bodies of men. His diſpenſations with ſolemne Oathes, Perjuries, and degrees of Mariage forbidden in the Word: his cruelty againſt the innocent divorced: his divellish Maſſe: his blaſphemous Prieſthood: his profane Sacrifice for the ſinnes of the dead and the quick: his Canonization of men, calling upon Angels or Saints departed, worſhipping of Imagery, Relicts, and Croſſes, dedicating of Kirks, Altars, Dayes, Vowes to creatures; his Purgatory, Prayers for the dead, praying or ſpeaking in a ſtrange language, with his Proceſſions and blaſphemous Letany, and multitude of Advocates or Mediators: his manifold Orders, Auricular Confeſſion: his deſperate and uncertaine Repentance; his general and doubtſome Faith; his ſatisfactions of men for their ſinnes: his Juſtification by works, *opus operatum*, works of Supererogation, Merits, Pardons, Peregrinations, and Stations: his holy water, baptiſing of Bells, conjuring of Spirits, croſſing, ſaning, anointing, conjuring, hallowing of *GODS* good creatures, with the ſuperſtitious opinion joyned therewith: his Worldly Monarchy, and wicked Hierarchy: his three ſolemne vowes, with all his ſhavelings of ſundry ſorts, his erronious and bloudy decrees made at *Trent*, with all the ſubſcribers and approvers of that cruell and bloudy Band, conjured againſt the Kirk of *GOD*: and finally, we deteſt all his vaine Allegories, Rites, Signes and Traditions,

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brought in the Kirk, without or againſt the Word of *GOD*, and Doctrine of this true reformed Kirk, to the which we joyne our ſelves willingly, in Doctrine, Faith, Religion, Diſcipline, and uſe of the Holy Sacraments, as lively members of the ſame, in Chriſt our Head: promiſing and ſwearing by the *Great Name of the Lord our GOD*, that we ſhall continue in the obedience of the Doctrine and Diſcipline of this Kirk, and ſhall defend the ſame according to our vocation and Power, all the dayes of our lives, under the pains contained in the Law, and danger both of Body and Soul, in the day of GODS fearful Judgment: And ſeeing that many are ſtirred up by Sathan, and that Roman Antichriſt, to promiſe, ſweare, ſubſcribe, and for a time uſe the Holy Sacraments in the Kirk deceitfully againſt their own Conſciences, minding thereby, firſt, under the external cloak of Religion, to corrupt and ſubvert ſecretly GODS true Religion within the Kirk, and afterward, when time may ſerve, to become open enemies and perſecutors of the ſame, under vain hope of the Popes diſpenſation, deviſed againſt the Word of GOD, to his greater confuſion, and their double condemnation in the day of the LORD JESUS.

Wee, therefore, willing to take away all ſuſpicion of hypocriſy, and of ſuch double dealing with GOD and his Kirk, Proteſt, and call *The Searcher of all hearts* for witneſſe, that Our mindes and hearts, do fully agree with this our *Confeſſion*, *Promiſe*, *Oath* and *Subſcription*, ſo that Wee are not moved for any wordly reſpect, but are perſuaded onely in our Conſciences, through the knowledge and love of Gods true Religion, printed in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, as we ſhall anſwer to him in the day, when the ſecrets of all hearts

shall be diſcloſed. And becauſe we perceave that the quietneſs and ſtability of our Religion and Kirk, doth depend upon the ſafety & good behaviour of the Kings Majeſty, as upon a comfortable Inſtrument of Gods mercy, granted to this Countrey, for the maintaining of this Kirk, and miniſtration of Juſtice amongſt us, we proteſt and promiſe with our hearts under the ſame Oath, Hand-writ, and Pains, that we ſhall defend his Perſon and Authority, with our goods, bodies and lives, in the defence of Chriſt his Evangel, Liberties of our Country, miniſtration of Juſtice, and punishment of iniquity, againſt all enemies within this Realm, or without, as we deſire our GOD to be a ſtrong and merciful defender to us in the day of our death, and coming of our Lord *Ieſus Chriſt*: To whom with the Father. and the Holy Spirit, be all Honour and Glory Eternally.

Like as many Acts of Parliament not onely in general do abrogate, annull, and reſcind all Lawes, Statutes, Acts, Conſtitutions, Canons, civil or municipall, with all other Ordinances and practique penalties whatſoever, made in prejudice of the true Religion and Profeſſours thereof; Or, of the true Kirk-diſcipline, juriſdiction, and freedome thereof; Or in favours of Idolatry and Superſtition; Or of the Papiſticall Kirk: As *Act.* 3. *Act.* 13. *Parl.* 1. *Act.* 23. *Parl.* 11. *Act.* 114. *Parl.* 12. of *King Iames the ſixt*, That Papiſtry and Superſtition may be utterly ſuppreſſed according to the intention of the Acts of Parliament repeated in the 5. *Act. Parl.* 20. *K. Iames* 6. And to that end they ordaine all Papiſts and Prieſts to be punished by manifold Civill and Eccleſiaſtical pains, as adverſaries to Gods true Religion, preached and by Law eſtablished within this Realme, *Act.* 24. *Parl.* 11. *K.*

*Iames* 6. as common enemies to all Christian government, *Act.* 18. *Parl.* 16. *K. Iames* 6. as rebellers and gainstanders of our Soveraigne Lords Authority, *Act.* 47. *Parl.* 3. *K. Iames* 6. and as Idolaters. *Act.* 104. *Parl.* 7. *K. Iames* 6. but also in particular (by and attour the Confession of Faith) do abolish and condemne the Popes Authority and Jurisdiction out of this Land, and ordaine the maintainers thereof to be punished, *Act* 2. *Parl.* 1. *Act* 51. *Parl.* 3. *Act* 106. *Parl.* 7. *Act* 114. *Parl.* 12. *K. Iames* 6. do condemne the Popes erronious doctrine, or any other erronious doctrine repugnant to any of the Articles of the true and Christian religion publickly preached, and by law established in this Realme: And ordaines the spreaders and makers of Books or Libels, or Letters, or writs of that nature to be punished, *Act* 46. *Parl.* 3. *Act* 106. *Parl.* 7. *Act* 24. *Parl.* 11. K. *Iames* 6. do condemne all Baptisme conforme to the Popes Kirk and the Idolarry of the Masse, and ordaines all sayers, willfull hearers, and concealers of the Masse, the maintainers and resetters of the Priests, Jesuites, traffiquing Papists, to be punished without any exception or restriction, *Act* 5. *Parl.* 1. *Act.* 120. *Parl.* 12. *Act.* 164. *Parl.* 13. *Act.* 193. *Parl.* 14. *Act.* 1. *Parl.* 19. *Act.* 5. *Parl.* 20. K. *Iames* 6. do condemne all erroneous bookes and writtes containing erroneous doctrine against the Religion presentlyprofessed, or containing superstitious Rites and Ceremonies Papisticall, whereby the people are greatly abused, and ordaines the home-bringers of them to be punished, *Act* 25. *Parl.* 11. K. *Iames* 6. do condemne the monuments and dregs of by-gone Idolatry; as going to the Crosses, observing the Feastivall dayes of Saints, and such other superstitious and Papisticall Rites, to the dishonour of GOD, contempt of

true

true Religion, and foſtering of great errour among the people, and ordaines the uſers of them to be punished for the ſecond fault as Idolaters, *Act* 104. *Parl.* 7. K. *Iames* 6.

Like as many Acts of Parliament are conceaved for maintenance of GODS true and Chriſtian Religion, and the purity thereof in Doctrine and Sacraments of the true Church of God, the liberty & freedom thereof, in her National, Synodal Aſſemblies, Presbyteries, Seſſions, Policy, Diſcipline and Juriſdiction thereof, as that purity of Religion and liberty of the Church was uſed, profeſſed, exerciſed, preached and confeſſed according to the reformation of Religion in this Realm. As for inſtance, *The* 99. *Act. Parl.* 7. Act. 23. *Parl.* 11. *Act.* 114. *Parl.* 12. *Act.* 160. *Parl.* 13. *of King Iames* 6. Ratified by the 4. *Act.* of King *Charles.* So that the 6. *Act. Parl.* 1. and 68. *Act. Parl.* 6. of King *Iames* 6. in the Yeare of God 1579. declares the Miniſters of the bleſſed Evangel, whom GOD of his mercy had raiſed up, or hereafter ſhould raiſe, agreeing with them that then lived in Doctrin, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and the People that profeſſed Chriſt, as he was then offered in the Evangel, and doth communicate with the Holy Sacraments, (as in the reformed Kirk's of this Realm they were publickly adminiſtrat) according to the Confeſſion of Faith, to be the true and Holy Kirk of Chriſt Jeſus within this Realm, and decerns and declares all and ſundry, who either gainſayes the Word of the Evangel, received and approved, as the heads of the Confeſſion of Faith, profeſſed in Parliament, in the Yeare of God 1560. ſpecified alſo in the firſt Parliament of King *Iames* 6. and ratified in this preſent Parliament, more particularly do ſpecify, or that refuſes the adminiſtration of the Holy

Sacraments, as they were then miniſtrated, to be no members of the ſaid Kirk within this Realme, and true Religion, preſently profeſſed, ſo long as they keep themſelves ſo divided from the ſociety of Chriſts body: And the ſubſequent *Act. 69. Parl. 6.* of K. *Iames 6.* declares, That there is none other Face of Kirk, nor other Face of Religion, then was preſently at that time, by the Favour of GOD eſtabliſhed within this Realme, which therefore is ever ſtiled, *Gods true Religion, Chriſts true Religion, the true and Chriſtian Religion, and a perfect Religion*, Which by manifold acts of Parliament, all within this realme are bound to ſubſcribe the articles thereof, the Confeſſion of Faith, to recant all doctrine & errours, repugnant to any of the ſaid Articles, *Act. 4. & 9. Parl. 1. Act. 45. 46. 47. Parl. 3. Act 71. Parl. 6. Act 105. Parl. 7. Act 24. Parl. 11. Act 123. Parl. 12. Act 194. and 197. Parl. 14. of* K. *Iames 6.* And all Magiſtrats, Sherifs, &c. on the one parte are ordained to ſearch, apprehend, and punish all contraveeners; For inſtance, *Act 5. Parl. 1. Act 104. Parl. 7. Act 25. Par. 11.* K. *Iames 6.* And that notwithſtanding of the Kings Majeſty's licences on the contrary, which are diſcharged & declared to be of no force in ſo farre as they tend in any wayes, to the prejudice & hinder of the execution of the Acts of Parliament againſt Papiſts & adverſaries of true Religion, *Act. 106. Parl. 7.* K. *Iames 6.* On the other part in the *47. Act. Parl. 3.* K. *Iames 6.* It is declared and ordained, ſeeing the cauſe of Gods true Religion, and his highnes Authority are ſo joyned, as the hurt of the one is common to both: and that none shal be reputed as loyall and faithfull ſubjects to our Soveraigne Lord, or his Authority, but be punishable as rebellers and gainſtanders of the ſame, who shall not give their Confeſſion, and make their profeſſion of the ſaid true Religion, and that they who

after

after defection shall give the Confeſſion of their Faith of new, they ſhall promiſe to continue therein in time comming, to maintaine our Souveraigne Lords Authority, and at the uttermoſt of their power to fortifie, aſſiſt, and maintaine the true Preachers and Profeſſors of Chriſts Evangel, againſt whatſoever enemies and gaineſtanders of the ſame; and namely (againſt all ſuch of whatſoever nation, eſtate, or degree they be of) that have joyned, and bound themſelves, or have aſſiſted, or aſſiſts to ſet forward, and execute the cruell decrees of *Trent*, contrary to the Preachers and true Profeſſors of the Word of God, which is repeated word by word in the Article of Pacification at *Perth* the 23 of Februar. 1572. approved by Parliament the laſt of Aprile 1573. Ratified in Parliament 1587. and related, *Act* 123. *Parl.* 12. *of* K. *Iames* 6. with this addition, that they are bound to reſiſt all treaſonable uproars and hoſtilities raiſed againſt the true Religion, the Kings Majeſty, and the true Profeſſors.

Like as all Liedges are bound to maintaine the King Majeſty's Royal Perſon. and Authority, the Authority of Parliaments, without the which neither any lawes or lawful judicatories can be eſtabliſhed. *Act* 130. *Act.* 131. *Parl.* 8. K. *Iames* 6. and the ſubjects Liberties, who ought onely to live and be governed by the Kings lawes, the common lawes of this Realme allanerly, *Act* 48. *Parl.* 3. K. *Iames the firſt*. *Act.* 79. *Parl* 6. K. *Iames the* 4. *repeated in the Act* 131. *Parl.* 8. K. *Iames* 6. Which, if they be innovated or prejudged, the commiſſion anent the union of the two Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *England*, which is the ſole *Act of the* 17. *Parl. of* K. *Iames* 6. declares ſuch confuſion would enſue, as this Realme could be no more a free Monarchy, becauſe by the fundamentall lawes, ancient priviledges, offices and liber-

ties of this Kingdome, not onely the Princely Authority of his Majesty's Royal discent hath been these many ages maintained, but also the peoples security of their Lands, livings, rights, offices, liberties, and dignities preserved, and therefore for the preservatien of the said true Religion, Lawes, and Liberties of this Kingdome, it is statute by the 8. *Act Parl. 1. repeated in the 99. Act Parl. 7. Ratified in the 23. Act Parl. 11. and 114. Act Parl. 12. of K. Iames 6. and 4. Act of K. Charles.* That all Kings and Princes at their Coronation and reception of their Princely Authority, shall make their faithfull promise by their solemne oath in the presence of the Eternal God, that, enduring the whole time of their lives, they shall serve the same Eternal God to the uttermost of their power, according as he hath required in his most Holy Word, contained in the old and new Testament. And according to the same Word shall maintain the true Religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of his Holy Word, the due and right ministration of the Sacraments now receaved and preached within this Realme (according to the Confession of Faith immediately preceeding) and shall abolish and gainstand all false Religion contrary to the same, and shall rule the people committed to their charge, according to the will and command of God, revealed in his foresaid Word, and according to the laudable Lawes and Constitutions received in this Realme, no wayes repugnant to the said will of the Eternall God; and shall procure, to the uttermost of their power, to the Kirk of God, and whole Christian people, true and perfite peace in all time coming: and that they shall be careful to root out of their Empire all Hereticks, and enemies to the true worship of God, who shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God, of the foresaid crimes,

crimes, which was also observed by his Majesty, at his Coronation in *Edinburgh* 1633. as ma ybeseene in the order of the Coronation.

In obedience to the Commandment of GOD, conforme to the practice of the godly in former times, and according to the laudable example of our Worthy and Religious Progenitors, & of many yet living amongst us, which was warranted also by act of *Councill*, commanding a general band to be made and subscribed by his Majesty's subjects, of all ranks, for two causes: One was, For defending the true Religion, as it was then reformed, and is expressed in the Confession of Faith abovewritten, and a former large Confession established by sundry acts of lawful generall assemblies, & of Parliament, unto which it hath relation, set down in publick Catechismes, and which had been for many years with a blessing from Heaven preached, and professed in this Kirk and Kingdome, as Gods undoubted truth, grounded only upon his written Word. The other cause was, for maintaining the Kings Majesty, His Person, and Estate: the true worship of GOD and the Kings authority, being so straitly joined, as that they had the same Friends, and common enemies, and did stand and fall together. And finally, being convinced in our mindes, and confessing with our mouthes, that the present and succeeding generations in this Land, are bound to keep the foresaid nationall Oath & Subscription inviolable, Wee Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses, Ministers & Commons under subscribing, considering divers times before & especially at this time, the danger of the true reformed Religion, of the Kings honour, and of the publick peace of the Kingdome: By the manifold innovations and evills generally conteined, and particularly

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mentioned in our late ſupplications, complaints, and proteſtations, Do hereby profeſſe, and before *God*, his Angels, and the World ſolemnly declare, That, with our whole hearts we agree & reſolve, all the dayes of our life, conſtantly to adhere unto, and to defend the foreſaid true Religion, and (forbearing the practice of all novations, already introduced in the matters of the worship of GOD, or approbation of the corruptions of the publicke Government of the Kirk, or civil places and power of Kirk-men, till they be tryed & allowed in free aſſemblies, and in Parliaments) to labour by all meanes lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the Goſpel, as it was ſtablished and profeſſed before the foreſaid Novations: and becauſe, after due examination, we plainely perceave, and undoubtedly believe, that the Innovations and evils contained in our Supplications, Complaints, and Proteſtations have no warrant of the Word of *God*, are contrary to the Articles of the Foreſaid Confeſſions, to the intention and meaning of the bleſſed reformers of Religion in this Land, to the above written Acts of Parliament, & do ſenſibly tend to the re-eſtablishing of the Popish Religion and Tyranny, and to the ſubverſion and ruine of the true Reformed Religion, and of our Liberties, Lawes and Eſtates, We alſo declare, that the Foreſaid Confeſſions are to be interpreted, and ought to be underſtood of the Foreſaid novations and evils, no leſſe then if every one of them had been expreſſed in the Foreſaid confeſſions, and that we are obliged to deteſt & abhorre them amongſt other particular heads of Papiſtry abjured therein. And therefore from the knowledge and conſciences of our duety to *God*, to our King and Countrey, without any wordly reſpect or inducement, ſo farre as humane infirmity will ſuffer, wishing

ing a further measure of the grace of *God* for this effect, We promise, and sweare by the *Great Name of the Lord our GOD*, to continue in the Profession and Obedience of the Foresaid Religion: That we shall defend the same, and resist all these contrary errours and corruptions, according to our vocation, and to the uttermost of that power that *GOD* hath put in our hands, all the dayes of our life: and in like manner with the same heart, we declare before GOD and Men, That we have no intention nor desire to attempt any thing that may turne to the dishonour of GOD, or to the diminution of the Kings greatnesse and authority: But on the contrary, we promise and sweare, that we shall, to the uttermost of our power, with our meanes and lives, stand to the defence of our dread Soveraigne, the Kings Majesty, his Person, and Authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true Religion, Liberties and Lawes of the Kingdome: As also to the mutual defence and assistance, every one of us of another in the same cause of maintaining the true Religion and his Majesty's Authority, with our best counsel, our bodies, meanes, and whole power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever. So that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause, shall be taken as done to us all in generall, and to every one of us in particular. And that we shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer our selves to be divided or withdrawn by whatsoever suggestion, allurement, or terrour from this blessed & loyall Conjunction, nor shall cast in any let or impediment, that may stay or hinder any such resolution as by common consent shall be found to conduce for so good ends. But on the contrary, shall by all lawsul meanes labour to further and promove the same, and if any such dangerous & divisive

motion be made to us by Word or Writ, We, and every one of us, shall either ſuppreſſe it, or if need be shall incontinent make the ſame known, that it may be timeouſly obviated: neither do we fear the foul aſperſions of rebellion, combination, or what elſe our adverſaries from their craft and malice would put upon us, ſeing what we do is ſo well warranted, and ariſeth from an unfeined deſire to maintaine the true worship of God, the Majeſty of our King, and peace of the Kingdome, for the common happineſſe of our ſelves, and the poſterity. And becauſe we cannot look for a bleſſing from God upon our proceedings, except with our Profeſſion and Subſcription we joine ſuch a life & converſation, as beſeemeth Chriſtians, who have renewed their Covenant with God; We, therefore, faithfully promiſe, for our ſelves, our followers, and all other under us, both in publick, in our particular families, and perſonal carriage, to endeavour to keep our ſelves within the bounds of Chriſtian liberty, and & to be good examples to others of all Godlineſſe, Soberneſſe, and Righteouſneſſe, and of every duety we owe to God and Man, And that this our Union and Conjunction may be obſerved withont violation, we call the living GOD, the Searcher of our Hearts to witneſs, who knoweth this to be our ſincere Deſire, and unfained Reſolution, as we shall anſwere to JESUS CHRIST, in the great day, and under the pain of Gods everlaſting wrath. and of infamy, and loſſe of all honour and reſpect in this World, Moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord to ſtrengthen us by his holy Spirit for this end, aud to bleſſe our deſires and proceedings with a happy ſucceſſe, that Religion and Righteouſneſſe may flourish in the Land, to the glory of GOD, the honour of King, and peace and comfort

fort of us all. In witneſſe whereof we have ſubſcribed with our hands all the premiſſes, &c.

The Article of this Covenant, which was at the firſt Subſcription, referred to the determination of the General Aſſembly, being determined, and thereby the 5 Articles of *Perth*, the Government of the Kirk by Biſhops, the Civill places and Power of Kirkment, upon the reaſons and grounds contained in the Acts of the General Aſſembly, declared to be unlawful within this Kirk, we ſubſcribe according to the determination foreſaid.

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# A Solemn League and Covenant

*For Reformation, and Defence of Religion, The Honour and Happineſs of the* King, *and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of* Scotland, England, *and* Ireland.

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all ſorts in the Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*, by the providence of GOD living under one King, and being of one reformed Religion, Having before our eyes the glory of GOD, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, the Honour and Happineſſe of the Kings Majeſty and his Poſterity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every ones private condition is included; And calling to minde the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conſpiracies, Attempts and Practices of the Enemies of GOD againſt the true Religion and Profeſſours thereof

thereof in all places, especially in these three Kingdoms, ever since the Reformation of Religion, and how much their rage, power and presumption are of late, and at this time increased and exercised; whereof the deplorable estate of the Church and Kingdom of *Ireland*, the distressed estate of the Church & Kingdom of *England*, and the dangerous estate of the Church and Kingdom of *Scotland* are present and publick testimonies: We have now at last (after other means of Supplication, Remonstrance, Protestation and Suffering) for the preservation of our selves and our Religion from utter ruine and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these Kingdoms in former times, and the example of GODS People in other Nations, after mature deliberation, resolved and determined to enter into a mutuall and solemn League and Covenant: Wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high GOD, do Swear,

1. That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of GOD, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Chuch of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against our common Enemies; The Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the Word of GOD, and the example of the best Reformed Churches; And shall endeavour to bring the Churches of GOD in the three Kingdoms, to the neareſt conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church-government, Directory for Worship and Catechizing; That we and our Posterity after us, may, as Brethren, live in

Faith

Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midſt of us.

2. That we ſhall in like manner, without reſpect of perſons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy (that is, Church-government by Arch-bishops, Bishops, their Chancellours and Commiſſaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-deacons, and all other Eccleſiaſticall Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superſtition, Hereſy, Schiſm, Prophaneſſe, and whatſoever ſhall be found to be contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the power of Godlineſs; Leſt we partake in other mens ſins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues; And that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

3. We ſhall with the ſame ſincerity, reality and conſtancy, in our ſeverall vocations, endeavour with our eſtates and lives mutually to preſerve the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms; And to preſerve and defend the Kings Majeſty's Perſon and Authority, in the preſervation and defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms; That the world may bear witneſſe with our conſciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majeſty's juſt power and greatneſſe.

4. We ſhall alſo with all faithfulneſſe endeavour the diſcovery of all ſuch as have been, or ſhall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil inſtruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any faction, or parties amongſt the people contrary to this League and Covenant, That they may be broughr to publick triall, and receive condigne punishment, as the degree of their offences

shall require or deſerve, or the ſupream Judicatories of both Kingdomes reſpectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. And whereas the happineſſe of a bleſſed Peace between theſe Kingdoms, denyed in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of *GOD* granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded, and ſettled by both Parliaments, We shall each one of us, according to our place and intereſt, endeavour that they may remain conjoyned in a firme Peace and Union to all Poſterity, And that Juſtice may be done upon the willfull Oppoſers thereof, in manner expreſſed in the precedent Article.

6. We shall alſo according to our places and callings in this Common cauſe of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, aſſiſt and defend all thoſe that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and purſuing thereof; And shall not ſuffer our ſelves directly or indirectly by whatſoever combination, perſwaſion or terrour, to be divided and withdrawn from this bleſſed Union and conjunction, whither to make defection to the contrary part, or to give our ſelves to a deteſtable indifferency or neutrality in this cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the Glory of *GOD*, the good of the Kingdoms, and honour of the King; But shall all the dayes of our lives zealouſly and conſtantly continue therein, againſt all oppoſition, and promote the ſame according to our power, againſt all Lets and Impediments whatſoever; And, what we are not able our ſelves to ſuppreſſe or overcome, we shall reveale and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: All which we shall do as in the ſight of *GOD*.

And,

And becauſe theſe Kingdoms are guilty of many ſins, and provocations againſt *GOD*, and his Son Jeſus Chriſt, as is too manifeſt by our preſent diſtreſſes and dangers, the fruits thereof, We profeſſe and declare before *GOD*, and the world, unfained deſire to be humbled for our own ſins, and for the ſins of theſe Kingdoms, eſpecially that we have not, as we ought, valued the ineſteemable benefit of the Goſpel, that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Chriſt in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives; wich are the cauſes of other ſins and tranſgreſſions ſo much abounding amongſt us. And our true and unfained purpoſe, deſire, and endeavour for our ſelves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all dutyes we owe to *GOD* and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real Reformation; That the Lord may turn away his wrath, and heavy indignation, and eſtablish theſe Churches and Kingdoms in truth and Peace. And this Covenant we make in the preſence of Almighty *GOD* the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to peform the ſame, As we ſhall anſwer at that great Day when the ſecrets of all hearts, ſhall be diſcloſed; Moſt humbly beſeeching the Lord, to ſtrengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this end, and to bleſſe our deſires, and proceedings with ſuch ſucceſſe, as may be deliverance and ſafety to his people, and encouragement to other Chriſtian Churches groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of Antichriſtian Tyranny, or to joyn in the ſame, or like Aſſociation & Covenant, To the Glory of *GOD*, the enlargement of the Kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, and the peace & tranquillity of Chriſtian Kingdoms, and Common-wealths.

# A Solemn Acknowledgement of publick Sins and Breaches of the Covenant;

AND

*A Solemn Engagement to all the Duties contained therein, namely thoſe which do in a more ſpeciall way relate unto the dangers of theſe times*: ANNO 1648.

WE Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, Miniſters of the Goſpel, and Commons of all ſorts within this Kingdom, by the good hand of GOD upon us, taking in ſerious conſideration the many ſad afflictions and deep diſtreſſes wherewith we have been exerciſed for a long time paſt, and that the Land after it hath been ſore waſted with the Sword and the Peſtilence, and threatened with Famine, and that ſhame and contempt hath been poured out from the Lord againſt many thouſands of our Nation, who did in a ſinful way make War upon the Kingdom of *England*, contrary to the Teſtimony of his Servants and deſires of his People, and that the remnant of that Army returning to this Land have ſpoiled and oppreſſed many of our Brethren, and that the Malignant party is ſtill numerous, & retaining their former principles, wait for an opportunity to raiſe a new and dangerous War, not only unto the rending of the bowells of this Kingdom, but unto the dividing of us from *England*, & overturning of the work of God in all the three Kingdoms: And conſidering alſo that a cloud of calamities doth ſtill hang over our heads, & threaten us with ſad things to come, We cannot but look upon theſe things as from the Lord, who is righteous in all his wayes, feeding us with the bread of tears, and making us to drink the waters of affliction, untill we be taught to know how

evil

evil and bitter a thing it is to depart away from him, by breaking the Oath and Covenant which we have made with him, and that we may be humbled before him by confeſſing our ſinne, and forſaking the evil of our way.

Therefore being preſſed with ſo great neceſſities and ſtraits, and warranted by the word of God, and having the example of Gods people of old, who in the time of their troubles, and when they were to ſeek delivery and a right way for themſelves, that the Lord might be with them to proſper them, did humble themſelves before him, and make a free and particular confeſſion of the ſins of their Princes, their Rulers, their Captains, their Prieſts and their people, and did engage themſelves to do no more ſo, but to reform their wayes and be ſtedfaſt in his Covenant; And remembring the practiſe of our predeceſſours in the year 1596. Wherein the General Aſſembly, and all the Kirk-Judicatories, with the concurrence of many of the Nobily, Gentry, and Burgeſſes, did with many ſtears acknowledge before God the breach of the National Covenant, and engaged themſelves to a Reformation, even as our predeceſſors and theirs had before done in the Generall Aſſembly and convention of Eſtates in the year 1567. And perceiving that this duty, when gone about out of conſcience and in ſincerity, hath alwayes been attended with a reviving out of troubles, and with a bleſſing and ſucceſſe ſtom Heaven; We do humbly and ſincerely in his ſight, who is the ſearcher of hearts, acknowledge the many ſins and great tranſgreſſions of the Land; We have done wickedly, our Kings, our Princes, our Nobles, our Judges, our Officers, our Teachers, and our People: Albeit the Lord hath long and clearly ſpoken unto us, we have not hearkened to his voice; Albeit he hath followed us with tender mercies, we have not

been allured to wait upon him and walk in his way; And though he hath ſtricken us, yet we have not grieved; Nay though he hath conſumed us, we have refuſed to receive correction; We have not remembred to render unto the Lord according to his goodneſſe and according to our own vows and promiſes, but have gone away backward by a continued courſe of backſliding, and have broken all the Articles of that ſolemn League and Covenant which we ſwore before God, Angels and men.

Albeit there be in the land many of all ranks, who be for a Teſtimony unto the Truth, and for a name of joy and praiſe unto the Lord, by living godly, ſtudying to keep their garments pure, and being ſtedfaſt in the Covenant and Cauſe of God; Yet we have reaſon to acknowledge that moſt of us have not endeavoured with that reality, ſincerity and conſtancy, that did become us, to preſerve the work of Reformation in the Kirk of *Scotland*; Many have ſatisfied themſes with the purity of the Ordinances neglecting the power thereof; yea, ſome have turned aſide to crooked wayes deſtructive to both. The prophane, looſe and inſolent carriage of many in our Armies, who went to the Aſſiſtance of our BRETHREN in ENGLAND, And the tamperings and unſtraight dealing of ſome of our Commiſſioners and others of our Nation in *London*, the Iſle of *Wight*, & other places of that Kingdom, have proved great lets to the work of Reformation, and ſetling of Kirk-Government there, wherby Errour and Schiſm in that Land have been encreaſed, and Sectaries hardened in their way. We have been ſo far from endeavouring the extirpation of Prophanneſſe, and what is contrary to the power of godlineſſe, that prophanity hath been much winked at, and Prophane

perſons

persons much countenanced & many times employed, until iniquity and ungodlinesse hath gone over the face of the land as a flood; Nay, sufficient care hath not been had to separate betwixt the precious and the vile, by debarring from the Sacrament all ignorant and scandalous persons according to the Ordinances of this Kirk.

Neither have the Priviledges of the Parliaments and Liberties of the Subject been duly tendered, But some amongst our selves have labored to put into the hands of our King an arbitrary and unlimited power destructive to both, And many of us have been accessory of late to those means and ways, whereby the freedom and priviledges of Parliaments have been encroached upon and the Subjects oppressed in their Consciences, persons and Estates: Neither hath it been our care to avoid these things which might harden the King in his evill way; But upon the contrary he hath not onely been permitted, but many of us have been instrumentall to make him exercise his power in many things tending to the prejudice of Religion and of the Covenant, and of the Peace and safety of these Kingdoms; Which is so farre from the right way of preserving his Majesty's Person and Authority, that it cannot but provoke the Lord against him unto the hazard of both, Nay under a pretence of relieving and doing for the King whilst he refuses to do what was necessary for the house of God, some have ranversed and violated most of all the Articles of the Covenant.

Our own Consciences within, and Gods judgements upon us without do convince us, of the manifold willfull renewed breaches of that Article, which concerneth the discovery and punishment of Malignants, whose crimes have not onely been connived at but dis-

penſed with and pardoned, and themſelves received unto intimate fellowship with our ſelves, and entruſted with our Counſels, admitted unto our Parliaments, and put in places of Power and Authority, for managing the publick affaires of the Kingdome, Whereby in Gods juſtice they got at laſt into their hands the whole power and ſtrength of the Kingdome, both in judicatories and Armies, And did imploy the ſame unto the enacting and proſecuting an unlawful Engagement in warre againſt the Kingdome of *England*, Notwithſtanding of the diſſent of many conſiderable members of Parliament, who had given conſtant proof of their integrity in the cauſe from the beginning, of many faithful teſtimonies and free warnings of the ſervants of God, of the Supplications of many Synods, Presbyteries and Shyres, and of the Declarations of the Generall Aſſembly and their Commiſſioners to the contrary: Which ingagement as it hath been the cauſe of much ſinne, ſo alſo of much miſery and calamity unto this Land, and holds forth to us, the grievouſneſſe of our ſinne of complying with Malignants, in the greatneſſe of our judgement, that we may be taught never to ſplit again upon the ſame rock, upon which the Lord hath ſet ſo remarkable a Beacon. And after all that is come to paſſe unto us becauſe of this our treſpaſſe, and after that grace hath been shewed unto us from the Lord our God, by breaking theſe mens yoke from of our necks, and putting us again into a capacity to act for the good of Religion, our own ſafety, and the Peace and ſafety of this Kingdowe, should we againbreak his Commandment and Covenant, by joyning once more with the people of theſe abominations, and taking into our boſome thoſe Serpents which had formerly ſtung us almoſt unto death: This as it would argue

argue great madneſſe and folly upon our part, So no doubt, if it be not avoided. will provoke the Lord againſt us to conſume us untill there be no remnant nor eſcaping in the Land.

And albeit the Peace and Uuion betwivt the Kingdoms be a great bleſſing of God unto both and a Bond which we are obliged to preſerve unviolated, And to endeavour that juſtice may be done upon the oppoſers thereof; Yet ſome in this Land, who have come under the Bond of the Covenant, have made it their great ſtudy how to diſſolve this Union, and few or no endeavours have been uſed by any of us for punishing of ſuch.

We have ſuffered many of our Brethren in ſeverall parts of the Land to be oppreſſed of the common Enemy without compaſſion or relief; There hath been great murmuring and repining becauſe of expenſe of means and pains in doing of our duty; Many by perſwaſion or terror have ſuffered themſelves to be divided and withdrawn to make defection to the contrary part; Many have turned off to a deteſtable indifferency and neutrality in this cauſe, which ſo much concerneth the glory of God and the good of theſe Kingdoms; Nay many have made it their ſtudy to walk ſo, as they might comply with all times and all the revolutions thereof. It hath not been our care to countenance, encourage, intruſt and employ ſuch onely, as from their hearts did affect and mind Gods Work; But the hearts of ſuch many times have been diſcouraged, and their hands weakened, their ſufferings neglected, and themſelves ſlighted, and many who were once open enemies and alwayes ſecret underminers contenanced and employed; Nay even thoſe who had been looked upon as Incendiaries, and upon whom the Lord had

ſet marks of deſperate Malignancy, falshood & deceat were brought in, as fit to manage publick affaires; Many have been the lets and Impediments that have been caſt in the way to retard and obſtruct the Lords work, and ſome have keeped ſecret, what of themſelves they were not able to ſuppreſſe and overcome.

Beſides theſe and many other breaches of the Articles of the Covenant in the matter thereof, which it concerneth every one of us to ſearch out and acknowledge before the Lord, as we would wish his wrath to be turned away from us; So have many of us failed exceedingly in the manner of our following and purſuing the duties contained therein, not onely ſeeking great things for our ſelves, and mixing of private intereſts and ends concerning our ſelves and friends and followers, with thoſe things which concern the publick good, but many times preferring ſuch to the Honour of God and good of his cauſe, and retarding Gods work until we might carry alongs with us our own intereſts and deſignes. It hath been our way to truſt in the means and to rely upon the arm of flesh for ſucceſſe, Albeit the Lord hath many times made us meet with diſpointment therein, and ſtained the pride of all our Glory, by blaſting every carnall confidence unto us: We have followed for the moſt part the counſels of flesh and blood, and walked more by the rules of policy then Piety, and have hearkened more unto men then unto God.

Albeit we made ſolemn publick profeſſion before the World of our unfained deſires to be humbled before the Lord for our own ſinnes, and the ſinnes of theſe Kingdoms, eſpecially for our undervaluing of the ineſtimable benefit of the Goſpel, and that we have

have not laboured for the power thereof, and received Christ into our hearts, and walked worthy of him in our lives, and of our true and unfained purpose, desire and endeavour for our selves, and all other under our power and charge both in publick and private, in all dutyes which we owe to God and man to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a reall Reformation, that the Lord might turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these Kirks and Kingdoms in truth and peace, Yet we have refused to be reformed, and have walked proudly and obstinatly against the Lord, not valueing his Gospel, nor submitting our selves unto the obedience thereof, not seeking after Christ, nor studying to honour him in the excellency of his person, nor employ him in the vertue of his offices, not making conscience of publick Ordinances, nor private nor secret duties, nor studying to edify one another in love. The ignorance of God and of his Son Jesus Christ prevailes exceedingly in the Land; The greatest part of Masters of families amongst Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses and Commons neglect to seek God in their families, and to endeavour the the Reformation thereof; And albeit it hath been much pressed, yet few of our Nobles and great ones ever to his day could be perswaded to perform family duties themselves and in their own persons; which makes so necessary and useful a duty to be misregarded by others of inferior rank; Nay many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Burrows who should have been examples of Godlinesse and sober walking unto others, have been ring-leaders of excesse and rioting. Albeit we be the Lords people engaged to him in a solemn way, yet to this day we have not made it our study

that judicatories & Armies shonld consist of, and places of power and trust be filled with men of a blameleſſe and Christian converſation, and of known integrity and approven fidelity, affection and Zeal unto the cauſe of God, but not onely thoſe who have been neutrall and indifferent but diſaffected and Malignant, and others who have been prophane and ſcandalous have been intruſted; By which it hath come to paſſe that judicatories have been the ſeats of injuſtice and iniquity, aad many in our Armies by their miſcarriages have become our plague, unto the great prejudice of the cauſe of God, the great ſcandall of the Goſpel, and the great increaſe of looſeneſſe & prophanity throughout all the Land. It were impoſſible to reckon up all the abominations that are in the Land, but the Blaſpheming of the name of God, ſwearing by the Creatures, prophanation of the Lords Day, uncleanneſſe, drunkenneſſe, exceſſe and rioting, vanity of apparrel, lying and deceit, railing and curſing, arbitrary and uncontrolled oppreſſion, and grinding of the faces of the poor, by Landlords and others in place and power, are become ordinary and common ſinnes; And beſides all theſe things, there be many other tranſgreſſions, whereof the Land wherein we live are guilty: All which we deſire to acknowledge and to be humbled for, that the world may bear witneſſe with us, that Righteouſneſſe belongeth unto God, and ſhame & confuſion of face unto us as appears this day.

And becauſe it is needfull for theſe who find mercy not onely to confeſſe but alſo to forſake their ſinne, Therefore that the reality and ſincerity of our repentance may appear, We do Reſolve and ſolemnly ingage our ſelves before the Lord, carefully to avoid for the time to come all theſe offences, whereof we have

now

now made ſolemn publick acknowledgement, and all the ſnares and tentations which tend thereunto: And to teſtifie the integrity of our reſolution herein, and that we may be the better enabled in the power of the Lords ſtrength to perform the ſame, We do again Renue our Solemn League and Covenant, Promiſing hereafter to make conſcience of all the duties whereunto we are obliged in all the heads and Articles thereof, particularly of theſe which follow.

1. Becauſe Religion is of all things the moſt excellent and precious, The advancing and promoving the power thereof againſt all ungodlineſſe and profanity, The ſecuring and preſerving the purity thereof againſt all error, hereſy and ſchiſme, and namely *Independency*, *Anabatiſme*, *Antinomianiſme*, *Arminianiſme*, *Socinianiſme*, *Familiſme*, *Libertiniſme*, *Scepticiſme*, and *Eraſtianiſme*, and the carrying on the work of uniformity ſhall be ſtudied & endeavoured by us before all worldly intereſts, whether concerning the King or our ſelves, or any other whatſomever. 2: Becauſe many have of late laboured to ſupplant the liberties of the Kirk, we ſhall maintain and defend the Kirk of *Scotland*, in all her liberties and priviledges, againſt all who ſhall oppoſe or undermine the ſame, or encroach thereupon under any pretext whatſomever. 3. We ſhall vindicat and maintain the liberties of the Subjects, in all theſe things which concern their conſciences, perſons and Eſtates. 4. We ſhall carefully maintain and defend the Union betwixt the Kingdoms, and avoid every thing that may weaken the ſame, or involve us in any meaſure of acceſſion unto the guilt of thoſe who have invaded the Kingdom of *England*. 5. As we have been always Loyall to our King, ſo we ſhall ſtill endeavour to give unto God that which is Gods, and to *Caſar* the

the things which are *Cesars*. 6. We shall be so farre from conniving at, complying with, or contenancing of Malignancy, injustice, iniquity, prophanity and impiety, that we shall not onely avoid, and discountenance those things, and cherish and encourage these persons, who are zealous for the Cause of God, and walk according to the Gospel; But also shall take a more effectuall course then heretofore in our respective Places and Callings, for punishing and suppressing these evils; and faithfully endeavour that the best and fittest remedies may be applyed for taking away the causes thereof, and advancing the knowledge of God, and Holinesse and Righteousnesse in the Land: And therefore in the last place, as we shall earnestly pray unto God that he would give us *able men fearing God, men of truth and hating covetousnesse* to judge and bear charge among his people, so we shall according to our Places and Callings Endeavour that Judicatories and all places of power and trust both in Kirk and State may consist of, and be filled with such men as are of known good affection to the cause of God, and of a blameleesse and Christian conversation.

And because there be many, who heretofore have not made conscience of the oath of God, but some through fear, others by perswasion and upon base ends and humane interests have entered thereinto, who have afterwards discovered themselves to have dealt deceitfully with the Lord, in swearing falsly by his name, Therefore we, who do now renew our Covenant in reference to these duties, and all other duties contained therein, Do in the sight of him who is the searcher of hearts, solemnly Professe that it is not upon any politique advantage or private interest or by-end, or because of any terror or perswasion from men, or hypocritically

cally and deceitfully, that we do again take upon us the oath of God, But honeſtly and ſincerely and from the ſence of our duty, And that therefore denying our ſelves and our own things and laying aſide all ſelf intereſt and ends, We ſhall above all things ſeek the honour of God, the good of his Cauſe and the wealth of his people, and that forſaking the counſels of flesh and blood, and not leaning upon carnall confidences, we ſhall depend upon the Lord, walk by the rule of his word, and hearken to the voice of his ſervants: In all which profeſſing our own weakneſſe We do earneſtly pray to God who is the father of mercies through his Son Jeſus Chriſt, to be merciful unto us, and to enable us by the power of his might, that we may do our duty unto the praiſe of his Grace in the Churches. *Amen.*

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## The occaſion of this *Acknowledgment* and *Engagement* was this;

THE Commiſſion of the General Aſſembly 1648. conſidering the many breaches of the *Solemn League and Covenant* (and particularly by the Engagement in War that Year againſt *England*) The Slackneſs of many in following the duties therein, And that many, (being under age when it was firſt ſworn) had not been receaved into the ſame, did, by their *Act October 6.* ordain it to be renewed with this *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins* & breaches, *and Engagement to duties*, And to that effect, appointed two ſolemn Faſts to be keeped in all the Congregations of the Land, for the Cauſes contained in the *Acknowledgment* of Sins, And that intimation thereof ſhould be made to the people upon the Sabbath before, & that the *Covenant*, together with the former *Acknowledgment of Sins* and *Engagement to duties*, ſhould be read publickly to the People, upon the day of the Intimation, and the laſt Faſt day when the Covenant was to be ſworn. This reſolution of the *Commiſſion*, upon the ſame grounds was unanimouſly approven by the *Committee of Eſtats* then ſitting, and by their *Act October 14.* Ordained to be put in Execution, in all things according to the directions of the *Commiſſion*: And accordingly in the moneth of *December*, it was for the ſecond time ſworn in all the Congregations of the Kingdome.

dome, upon the same day, (except where vacancy or the Ministers being under scandal or process did occasion a delay till another day, that the place was supplyed by another Minister) with great Solemnity, and such mixture of Joy & Sorrow as became people entering in Covenant with the Lord, And was thereafter Subscribed by all the Swearers. After ward, the *Parliament* Conveening, in *January* 1649 by their very first *Act* except the Election of their President, upon the same grounds, Resolved to keep a Fast by themselves, for the Causes contained in the Acknowlegment, and to Renew the Covenant according to the Order of the *Commission*, which was also most solemnly done. And last of all the Generall Assembly 1649. by their *Act*, *July* 7. did unanimously and expresly Ratify the Proceedings of the *Commission*, as to the Acknowledgment of Sins, Engagement to dueties, the Fasts, and Renewing of the Covenant by Swearing and Subscribing thereof. Hence, as the Covenant it self, so the *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins & Engagement to duties* became National Authorised by the Supream Judicatures of Church and State and are still obliging by Oath. *Oh! that the Lord had kept these things in the Imagination of the thought of our hearts for ever.*

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# ERRATA.

WHilst this was upon the Press, some Errors which escaped in some sheets, were corrected in others, so that thou must not stumble though some Copies be more correct then others. Besides other literal escapes which will not marr the sense, before thou read the Book, correct with thy pen th se following.

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A

True and short

# DEDUCTION

*Of the WRESTLINGS of the*

## CHURCH of SCOTLAND,

For the KINGDOM of

JESUS CHRIST,

From the beginning of the Reformation of Religion, unto the Year 1667.

AFter all these great & glorious things, which the Lord in his Love, Mercy and Faithfulness hath wrought for this Land, and in his Holiness and Righteousness hath declared amongst us; these clear and powerfull Manifestations of his blessed Truth, which have so brightly shined forth, to the Glory, Beauty and Praise of this whole Nation: After these many sacred and most solemn Engagements, whereby, in the evidence and power of the same Truth, all Ranks and degrees, from the King even to the meanest, became

dome, upon the same day, (except where vacancy or the Ministers being under scandal or process did occasion a delay till another day, that the place was supplyed by another Minister) with great Solemnity, and such mixture of Joy & Sorrow as became people entering in Covenant with the Lord, And was thereafter Subscribed by all the Swearers. After ward, the *Parliament* Conveening, in *January* 1649 by their very first *Act* except the Election of their President, upon the same grounds, Resolved to keep a Fast by themselves, for the Causes contained in the Acknowlegment, and to Renew the Covenant according to the Order of the *Commission*, which was also most solemnly done. And last of all the Generall Assembly 1649. by their *Act*, *July* 7. did unanimously and expresly Ratify the Proceedings of the *Commission*, as to the Acknowledgment of Sins, Engagement to dueties, the Fasts, and Renewing of the Covenant by Swearing and Subscribing thereof. Hence, as the Covenant it self, so the *Solemn Acknowledgment of Sins & Engagement to duties* became National Authorised by the Supream Judicatures of Church and State and are still obliging by Oath. *Oh! that the Lord had kept these things in the Imagination of the thought of our hearts for ever.*

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AFter all these great & glorious things, which the Lord in his Love, Mercy and Faithfulness hath wrought for this Land, and in his Holiness and Righteousness hath declared amongst us; these clear and powerfull Manifestations of his blessed Truth, which have so brightly shined forth, to the Glory, Beauty and Praise of this whole Nation: After these many sacred and most solemn Engagements, whereby, in the evidence and power of the same Truth, all Ranks and degrees, from the King even to the meanest, be-

came, and are ſtill bound and devoted to the Moſt High and Holy, Our Covenanted God, and to our bleſſed Lord Jeſus Chriſt, (who alone is King in Zion and of all Saints, and whoſe are all the Kings and Kingdomes of the Earth,) for the advancement of his Glory and Kingdome, and for the owning and maintaining of his glorious Work and precious Truth, which is all our Felicity and Joy: And after all this horrid Apoſtacy and Rebellion, whereby the ſame wretched Nation, in the ſame Generation, and almoſt in the ſame Perſons, neither from the conviction of any pretended Reaſon or Conſcience, nor from any ſolid perſuaſion of the very Advantage deſigned, but in the manifeſt Spirit of Wickedneſs and violence, have forgotten, deſpiſed and blaſphemed the former power and Glory; Rebelled againſt God, by breaking the Holy Covenant; Rejected our Lord and Saviour; Overturned the Work of his own bleſſed Spirit and Arme; Abrogated and reſcinded all theſe righteous Lawes and Ordinances, whereby it was eſtabliſhed; And by moſt Unjuſt, Arbitrary and Cruel Lawes and Practiſes, have endeavoured the rebuilding and promoving of the Kingdome of Darkneſs and Antichriſt, and precipitating of all men, either into the ſame condemnation with themſelves, or utter ruine and Extermination; After, we ſay, all theſe things, which the Lord hath thus wrought and permitted in the midſt of us, neither the Diſcouragement and Fainting of ſome, nor the Unſucceſſfulneſs of the more honeſt and Zealous endeavours of others, nor yet our Silence hithertil, is greatly to be wondered at. For, whoſe eyes can behold all theſe things, without Dimnes and affecting of the heart? And whoſe heart can conſider them, without Aſtonishment and Horrour, if not Stupefaction or Diſcouragement? How little wonder

wonder is it, that every visage (suppose of the faireſt Nazarit) be blacker then a coale? That every eye run down with waters? & that the souls of many refuse to be comforted, & neither do, nor dare rejoice as other people? When not only, by their going a whoreing from the Lord, their dayly bread, is become the bread of Adversity and the waters of Affliction, and when their famine of the Word of the Lord is such, that though they wander from sea to sea seeking it, they cannot find it; Bot also the Comforter that should releeve their souls is far from them, and either covereth Himself with a cloud, that their prayers cannot pass through. or then answereth them, only by terrible things in Righteousnes; How can they, who by their Vanities have moved the Holy God to Jealousy, and thereby have provoked their Rock to sell them, stand before their Enemies, or chase a thousand & put ten thousand to flight? & although that we should plead with our Mother, with our Rulers, & with all other ranks of persons within the Land, that they would put away their whoredomes out of their sight, & their Adulteries from betwen their breasts; yet what hope is there, that Words shall prevaill, where the Power and Glory of the most High is contemned? Or that Reason shall be heard, where the Counsell of God is rejected?

Here indeed is matter of Wonder and Praise, even the Longsuffering of the Lord, (which is Salvation) and the Mercy and faithfulnes of our God, who hath not only hithertil preserved a Remnant, even a holy seed, which shal be the substance of our Land; But (after this late suddain and astonishing stroak of his holy Indignation, which seemed to prelage no less, then the woful overturning of this sinking Church, into the depth of all darkness, and the dreadful overthrow of

this whole Land and Nation, in the conſummation of his fierce anger, to have been poured out in our deſolation ) hath made Light and Salvation to ariſe, and Glory and Praiſe to ſpring forth, in making his grace more manifeſt, and commending and aſſerting His Work and Covenant, more in the Sufferings and Death of His faithfull Servants and Witneſſes, then in all the proſperity and Victories, which formerly he vouchſaved upon us. O! bleſſed and exalted be his moſt Holy Name and aboundant Grace, who for the wicked and momentany rejoycing of our adverſaries, hath given to his People, ſuch ſweet conſolations and Exuberant Praiſe; and from the depths of our preſent diſtreſſes, and amidſt the feares of ſo imminent and great judgments, hath, in ſtead of an Apology before the world. put a ſong of Salvation in our Mouth, that, as well to Teſtify for the Lord againſt the backſliders, as for the comfort and conſolation of all who love and wait for his Salvation, we may call the Heavens to hear and the Earth to give ear, that we may publish the Name of the Lord, and aſcrib Greatneſs to our God, whoſe work is perfect, and all his wayes Iudgment; A God of Truth, and without Iniquity, Juſt and Right is He. We have corrupted ourſelves, our ſpot is not the ſpot of his Children, we are a perverſe and crooked generation: Do we thus requit the Lord, O foolish people and unwiſe? Yet is not He our Father that hath bought us? Hath not He made us and eſtabliſhed us? Let us then remember the dayes of old, when the moſt High did viſit us, and the Lord became Our God, and we became His People and Inheritance. This is the Teſtimony of his dying witneſſes, this is the voice of his preſent Diſpenſations. We will therefore call to mind the Years of the right hand of the Moſt High, and the

the wondrous works of the Lord, which He alone did work in our Land: We will alſo declare our manifold Engagements, and our moſt ſolemn and ſacred Covenants, with and to Our God; that the Lord's Loving Kindneſs may be made known; that the Innocency, Strength and Joy of his Servants may appear; that the glory of all his Righteous Judgments, which are either already come upon us, or which we have reaſon to fear, may be made manifeſt; that wickedneſs may ſtop it's mouth; and that all the Enemies of the Lord may be confounded.

It is not here intended to reſume theſe debates, which, as the Adverſaries have formerly moved, and pertinaciouſly maintained againſt the Work of God, and almoſt againſt every paſſage and tranſaction thereof; ſo have the Lovers and Owners of it, abundantly ſatisfied, and the Lord Himſelf determined with that power and Evidence, that, the Converſion of ſome and Conviction of almoſt all, and even of it's moſt deſperat oppoſers, is not the ſmaleſt part of it's Glory: But ſeing the party that now prevaileth, hath diſdained that method, and only by plain force and Violence, in the moſt groſs and deſperat Rebellion, Blaſphemy and Perfidy againſt God and his Cauſe, and the higheſt and moſt determined contempt and miſreguard of all good Conſcience, and ſacred Oathes, that ever the ſun beheld, hath carried on and advanced this preſent Apoſtacy and defection, under which all the Godly do mourn, and the Land periſheth: We ſhall only here endeavour, the ſincere and candid Repreſentation of theſe things, which, as they were once the Glory of the Lord, and joy of his people in this poor Nation, ſo are they now the Teſtimony and Triumph of his witneſſes, and the Patience and Hope of all his

Sufferers, and may be the full Satiſfaction of all, who ſhall hear of theſe late and preſent troubles, wherewith the Lord doth Exerciſe us, and will undoubtedly in the end prove, etiher the Exaltation and Praiſe, or the Deſolation and perpetuall Confuſion of BACKSLIDEN SCOTLAND.

When Scotland through the uſurpation of the Roman Antichriſt, and the contagion of his abominations, and through the Prid, Luſt and Tyranny of Prelacy, (the very root and ſtrength of that Kingdom of wickedneſs) had fallen into that groſs aud black darkneſs of Ignorance and Superſtition, and into theſe ſttong Deluſions, (wherewith the Lord as he hath threatned, ſo hath he ever infallibly plagued that Antichriſtian courſe) and for many hundreth Years had lien involved therein; It pleaſed the Lord in his wonderful mercy and free love, to cauſe the glorious Light of the everlaſting Goſpell again to ariſe and ſhine forth amongſt us: Which, as it is ever beſt witneſſed by its own Power and Purity; So through the Power and Wiſdome of God alone, even by the Weakneſs of very mean inſtruments, in the midſt of the flames of fiery perſecutions, and againſt the rage and fury of the Devil, and of all the powers of Hell, was this Work advanced and effectuated: As the recordes of theſe times from 1494. until about the Year 1560. do plainly diſcover. Dureing which period of time, theſe things are very obſervable.

*Firſt* That where and when ever the Light and Truth of God did diſcover & teſtify againſt the Corruptions, Errors, Idolatry, and Superſtitions of Popery in the ſame manner it teſtified and declared, that the Popes uſurped Tyranny, and the Prid, Idleneſs and Domination

nation of the wicked Prelates, were cheefly the Authors and Maintainers thereof.

*Secondly.* That such as the Lord did from time to time call to, and send forth for the work of the Ministry, did walk therein, with the same Painfulness, Poverty, Simplicity, Humility, and Equality which the Holy command and practises of our blessed Lord and his Apostles, do so constantly commend: Hence it is, that, in so far as this point could fall under the enquiry of these times, it is clearly held out, that they acknowledged no Officer in God's House, Superior to a Preaching Minister and according to the standard of this Office, did they try, reject and crave the Reformation of exorbitant Prelacy. As the examinations and testimonies of the faithfull in these dayes do witness.

*Thirdly.* That as the love of God and his blessed Truth, and the Precepts, Promise and Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, did enable unto all Patience with joy, such as, by the call of a clear and necessary providence, the Lord sett forth to be his witnesses; (who, for the love and Testimony of Jesus, cheerfully embraced the fire and faggott) so when the Lord did multiply the faithful to a Reasonable Capacity, they were so far from resigning themselves, and abandoning that First, and most just Priviledge of *Self-defence*, to the arbitriment even of the lawful Powers, and of that Authority which they did acknowledge, that they not only owned it and stood to it; but did account themselves so much the more obliged to their own Preservation and esteemed the same so much the more endeared to them, that the seeing forth of the Glory of God, in the maintainance of the blessed Gospel and the propagation and continuance thereof, seemed so necessarily to depend thereon: which endeavours, they did also further extend, in the bowels and

bonds of brotherly affection in Chriſt Jeſus, unto the ſame duty of defence & *Aſſiſtence* to all his members. And in effect, if their Principles and Practices be well conſidered, it will appear, that, as when God called them to ſuffering, they loved not their lives unto Death that they might witneſs a good confeſſion; ſo when they attained to any Probability of *Acting*, they thought themſelves indiſpenſibly obliged, upon their uttermoſt hazard to defend the Goſpel which they had receaved, and to ſuppreſs all Superſtition and Idolatry contrary therto, although the motive of Self-defence had not been conjoined: And it will alſo appear, that the Neceſſity of Convocations and Combinations (though not only without but even againſt Authority; Yet being in order to ſuch neceſſary and juſt Ends) did ſuffiriently warrand them befor God and all men, from the breach of any Law or Act then ſtanding againſt the ſame, wherewith they might have been charged. For verification hereof, though the whole courſe of our Reformation be an unqueſtionable evidence, yet let the inſtance of their firſt Appearance be obſerved, wherein both the Motives, Actors and all other circumſtances, do more clearly and beyond all cavillation hold out, that only the Love and Zeal of God, in the ſame Spirit in which they had ſo conſtantly ſuffered, did ſtir them up, from the pure and vive ſenſe of their indiſpenſible duty and certaine Priviledge, againſt all oppoſition whatſomever, to own and ſet themſelves for the Defence of the Goſpel and the true Miniſters thereof. The paſſage is thus.

In or about the Year 1555 the Queen by the inſtigation of the Prelats, (perceaving the increaſe of the Proteſtants, and fearing ſome inward diſtraction, during the wars then with England, if Shee ſhould fall

fall upon a more rigorous and general courſe,) did cauſe all the Preachers to be ſummoned: whereupon the body and generality of the whole Proteſtants, reſolved to keep the Dyet. But the Bishops apprehending the hazard, did procure that they should be commanded inſtantly to the borders: Nevertheleſs God had ſo provided, that upon the ſame day the Weſt-land Quarter returned from it; which conſiſting of many faithful men, ſo ſoon as they underſtood the matter, they repaired to the Queen, and plainly in the hearing of the Prelates did charge them, with the cruel device intended, and certified Her' of their reſolution, both to oppoſe it, and defend their Brethren to their uttermoſt; and ceaſed not, until that She was moved to diſcharge the citation.

Thereafter in the Year 1557. they entered into a Covenant of conſtant mutual Defence of the Goſpel, their Miniſters, and themſelves, againſt all their adverſaries, in theſe words, *VVe perceiving how Sathan in his members, the Antichriſts of our time, cruelly do rage, ſeeking to overthrow and deſtroy the Goſpel of Chriſt, and his Congregation, ought, according to our bounden duty, to ſtrive in our Maſters Cauſe, even unto the death, being certaine of the Victorie in him: The which our duty being well conſidered, VVe do promiſe before the Majeſty of God, and his Congregation, That we (by his grace) ſhal with all diligence continually apply our whole power, ſubſtance, and our very lives, to maintain, ſet forward, and eſtabliſh the moſt bleſſed VVord of God, and his Congregation: And ſhall labour according to our power, to have faithfull Miniſters*

*ſters, truly and purely to miniſter Chriſts Goſpel and Sacraments to his people. VVe ſhal maintain them, nouriſh them, and defend them; the whole Congregation of Chriſt, and every Member thereof according to our whole powers, and waging of our lives, againſt Sathan and all wicked power that doth intend Tyrranny or trouble againſt the foreſaid Congregation. Vnto the which holy VVord, and Congregation, we de joyne us; and ſo do forſake and renounce the Congregation of Sathan with all the ſuperſtitious abomination and idolatry thereof. And moreover, ſhall declare our ſelves manifeſt enemies therto, by this our faithful promiſe before God teſtified to this Congregation, by our Subſcription at theſe Preſents. At Edinburgh the third Day of December, Anno* 1557. *God called to witneſs.*

Likeas in the Year 1559. being again neceſſitated to aſſemble for, and ſtand to the defence of the Goſpel and themſelves, at *Perth*, they renewed and enlarged the ſame engagemeut, according to the good hand and Spirit of God upon his Servants, in theſe words, *At* Perth *the laſt day of May, the Year of God* 1559. *Yeares, the Congregations of the VVeſt Countrey, with the Congregations of* Fife, Perth, Dundie, Angus, Merns *and* Monroſs, *being conveened in the town of* Perth, *in the Name of Ieſus Chriſt, for ſetting forth of his glory, underſtanding nothing more neceſſary for the ſame, then to keep a conſtant amity, unity, and fellowſhip together, according as they are commanded by God, are confederate, and become bounden and obliged*

*obliged in the presence of God, to concurre & assist together in doing all things required of God in his Scripture, that may be to his glory; And at their whole powers to destroy and put away all things that doth dishonour to his name, so that God may be truly and purely worshipped. And in case that any trouble be intended against the said Congregation, or any part or member thereof, the whole Congregation shall concurre, assist, and conveen together, to the defence of the same Congregation or person troubled: And shall not spare Labours, goods, Substance, Bodies and Lives, in maintaining the liberty of the whole Congregation, and every member thereof, against whatsoever person shall intend the said trouble for cause of Religion, or any other cause depending thereupon, or lay to their charge under pretence thereof, although it happen to be coloured with any other outward cause.*

And again in the Moneth of *August*, the same Year, after having sustained and valiantly resisted a second assault, both of the wicked Prelats and of their other violent adversaries; by a third band & Oath they added a further caution to their former engagements, to the effect that in so just and holy a cause, they might never by force or fraud be thereafter tainted or divided.

And lastly in April *Anno* 1560. they ingaged themselves in a fourth bond in these words, *We whose names are underwritten, have promised and oblidged our selves faithfully in the presence of God, and by these presents do promise, that we together in Generall, and every one of us in special by himself, with our bodies, goods*

*goods and friends, and all that we can doe, ſhall ſet forward the Reformation of Religion, according to Gods VVord, and procure by all means poſsible, that the Truth of Gods VVord, may haue free paſsage within this realme, with due adminiſtration of Sacraments, and all things depending upon the ſaid VVord —— that we ſhall each one with another, all of us, effectually concurre, joine in one, take & hold one plain part for the, --- and recovery of our ancient freedome, Libertics. —— that we may be ruled by the Lawes and Cuſtome of the Countrey. —— Again that we ſhall tender the common Cauſe, as if it were the Cauſe of every one of us in particular; And that the Cauſes of every one of us now joyned together, being lawfull and honeſt, ſhall be all our Cauſe in Generall; And that he that is enemy to the Cauſe foreſaid, ſhall be Enemy to us all in ſo far.* --- Wee have ſuperadded theſe inſtances (as wee might have done two or three more) to the firſt propoſed, becauſe of their great reſemblance, ſince there can be nothing more manifeſt, then that the ſame Provocations the ſame Spirit, the ſame Principles, andthe ſame Deſign, did moſt uniformly influence all theſe Transactions. Now ſeeing that both the Occaſion, Actors, Aime, and End of the firſt Action, and eſpecially the obſervable Providence of God, that without all contrivance of man did over-rule it, do clearly purge it of any intended Rebellion or other wickedneſs; Certainly to affirm that all theſe things were nevertheleſs acted in, & by a Rebellious Spirit, muſt be a ſinn, at leaſt next unto that of high deſpit and Blaſphemy againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and Spirit of grace, by whoſe power alone

alone, this bleſſed work was effectuated: Neither durſt the Arch-Prelat himſelf though our Arch-Adverſary in this our preſent cauſe, and though he knew that the ſame doth infallibly, either ſtand or fall upon the ſame principles and grounds with theſe caſes now under conſideration, proceed any further in his cenſure of theſe courſes and practices; then to diſprove them as Violent and Diſorderly. There is one thing further, which is alſo before touched, that the inſtances above adduced, eſpecially the firſt, both for the Meanneſs of it's Actors the unpremeditated plainneſs of its Manner, and the ſingleneſs and purity of its End, doth moſt evidently make out, *viz.*: that as theſe men of God, by their ſmall and improbable appearance, did as much witneſs their unfained love of the Truth and zeal of his Glory, in the manifeſt contempt and hazard of their lives and fortuns, As when under the diſpenſation and call of another providence, they did patiently and cheerfully upon the ſame motives, lay down their lives, and ſuffer the loſs of all things; So the end of their undertaking, was not only their own juſt and neceſſary Defence, which in ſuch an apparent danger, might rather ſeem to be abandoned then intended, but above all things, the Maintainance & Defence of that bleſſed Evangel, which was dearer to them, then all other intereſts whatſoever. Wee know our great adverſaries, who for the gain and pleaſours of this life (what then would they not do for the preſervation of life it ſelf?) have often renounced, and would again renounce all Conſcience, Alleagance and Truth; and who by their deteſtable Flattery, in denying the lawfulneſs of Self-defence, (although in effect *Self* be their only Idol) & pretending a fained affection, & illimited ſubmiſſion without reſerve, do only court the Powers, for the advan-

advanceing of theſe intereſts, which they ſeem to relinquish; as the revolutions of the World, have frequently declared their practiſes in prejudice of both Religion and Royalty, and have often reſolved both their practiſes and principles, into that one Devilish poſition, the firſt yea only fixed rule of their Religion, *Skin for skin, yea all that a man hath will be give for his life*; Theſe, we ſay, are not curious to enquire in this diſtinction; Yet, ſeeing they leave nothing uneſſayed whereby to promote their deſign, and therefore, do often cavil from ſuch advantages as the work of God afterwards obtained, and particularly the Concurrence of the Peers and *Primores Regni*, and from the defect thereof in the firſt appearances, would inferthe unlawfulneſs of rhe ſame, eſpecially in order to the deſign of Reformation; Therefore wee further add with theſe noble worthies, that as it cannot be denied, 1. That the right & Priviledge of Self-defence is not only founded in, but is the very firſt inſtinct of pure Nature, and ſpring of all motion and action. 2. That it was competent to, and exerciſed by every individual, before that either Society or Government were known. 3. That it was ſo far from being ſurrendred or ſuppreſſed by the erecting of theſe, that it was & is the great End & motive, for which all voluntary Societies and Policies were introduced and are continued. 4. That it is a principal rule of Righteouſneſs, whereunto that great command of love to our neightbour, by the Law of God &by our Lord himſelf is reſolved, & whereby it is interpreted; ſo it doth infallibly follow, that the ſame right and Priviledge is yet competent to all men, whither Separatly or Jointly; and needeth no other prerequiſit, but that of intollerable and inevitable injury; (which for a man to ſuffer under pretext of the good of the Com-

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mon-wealth, would be, for the deluſion of an emptie name, only for the luſt of others, really to deprive himſelf of his whole ſhare and intereſt therein) and is compleated for exerciſe by ſuch a Probable Capacity, as may encourage the aſſerters thereof to undertake it.

And as for that other, and more noble deſign of the Maintainance and Reformation of Religion, waving the queſtion and Debate, *Whether the ſame can or ought to be by force maintained?* Which may appear ſufficiently determined to rationall men, by the very contrary Practiſes of it's adverſaries, who not only by force do fight againſt it, but moſt irreligiouſly uſurpe and detort it's own weapons *viz:* the precepts of our Lord, for patience and meeknes under a diſpenſation of ſuffering, to the perſuaſion of a ſtupid ſubmiſſion, and caſting away the opportunity of Defence and Acting; that without controll they may work it's overthrow; And ſuppoſing with all men, that force is not a proper argument of perſuaſion, and that Religion neither can nor ought to be thereby propagated; Yet are we in conſcience perſuaded, that the grounds followuing, evidently held out in the records of theſe times, are beyond contradiction.

1. That Religion (the higheſt concernment of Gods glory and of mans happineſs both temporall and eternall) is the moſt important, dear and precious of all intereſts.

2. That to be violented in this (which cannot be without an unjuſt force either or mens Perſons or Goods) is the moſt wicked and inſupportable of all injuries.

3. That the propelling by force of ſuch injuries, was the juſteſt cauſe and quarrell, that men in their Primæve Liberty could be engaged in.

4. That

4. That, as for the ſecurity of this Intereſt, and no wayes to make an abſolut ſurrender thereof to the arbitriment of any, men were mollly induced to the appointing of Governours, ſo the glory of God. which is the end of all things, but herein is moſt eſpecially concerned was. by the erecting of Rule and Government for the ſecurity of Religion, more particularly and eminently intended.

5. That the Powers appoin ed for Preſervation, cannot warrantably endeavour Subverſion.

6. That, as every man is bound to obey God rather then man; ſo ſuch Violence, and intollerable and inevi able injury offered by the Powers on his account, as to the perſon injured, deſtroyeth both the Commonwelath of the people, & more ſpecially, the Glory of God which are the only ends of Governments, maketh both the End, the Means of Government and Authority, and the injured perſon's Obligation thereunto, to ceaſe.

7. As the perſons, one or more, reduced to this eſtate and condition, if by a real or apparent incapacity of Acting, they conceave them ſelves called to a Teſtimony by Suffering ought herein with all patience, to give unto God the Glory; ſo having the opportunity of, and being called, whither to their own Defence, or the Aſſi ing of their Brethren in ſo juſt a cauſe, they ought therein valiantly to acquit themſelves, for the Glory of God, the mantainance of his Truth, and the mutuall preſervation one of another.

8. As the *Combination* of more perſons, whom the ſame common cauſe of juſt and neceſſary Defence doth join together, is founded upon and doth moſt natively ariſe from that Primæve Right and Priviledge, which at firſt gave Being and Riſe to all Societies, and where-

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unto, the force of extream Necessity, through the perversion of that Mean of Government, appointed for their Preservation, doth ultimatly reduce them; so the duty of mutual Assistance, is not only warranted by that principle of Humanity and common Stipulation, which is the Motive and Bond of mens entering into Society, the immediat and subordinat End of all Rule, and the most effective Mean, whereby that superior end of the Good and Safety of every Individuall therein included, can be best secured: But also, first, by that more endearing principle of Christian and brotherly Affection in the Lord; upon the indispensible force and obligation whereof, the very glory and righteousnes of the great and last judgement seemeth to be founded, *Math.* 25: 31. *to the end.* And, secondly, by that supream & chief concernment of God's Glory, to which the interests of all Powers & Common-wealth's must certainly stoop and cede. And how is it possible, that any scruple anent this can remain with any considerat or conscientious person? if we consider that whole Cities, Kingdomes. & Empires, for the violation of this duty, in not releeving & delivering of Innocents from the unjust Tyranny, even of lawful Powers, have been involved in the Guilt of the violence and cruelty, which had been only acted by one or a few persons, and have been overtaken therefore, by fearfull effects and Iudgments, to their utter ruine and Subversion. As is most evidently confirmed by that clear intimation thereof made by *Ieremiah*, to the Jewes, *Chap.* 26. 15. *Know ye for a certain that if ye put me to death, ye shall surely bring innocent blood upon your selves, & upon* THIS CITY, *and upon* THE INHABITANTS *thereof.*

9. As the Power & exercise of Reformation hath been grosly calumniated by the adversaries, as if thereby were meant and had been practised manifest force and

violence upon Conſciences and Perſuaſions; ſo on the other hand, open Idolatry, Blaſphemy, Perjury, Venting and Spreading of Hereſy, and ſuch like abominations, (being moſt dishonorable to God, and pernicious to all Common-wealths) ought without doubt, by all means to be ſuppreſſed, reſtrained and ſeverely punished Now, that this Vindicative and (in caſe of backſliding) Reforming Power is committed to the Magiſtrat, and that he is thereto mainly appointed, none will queſtion; But what if not only the ſupreame Magiſtrat, but with him all the Nobles and *Primores* of the Realme shall turn the principal perverters, and chief Patrons of theſe abominations? As we have already cleared, that, in caſe either the People or any part of them, be violented to a ſinful complyance, or be wickedly perſecuted for adhering to God in the profeſſion and practiſe of the contrary duties; they may lawfully Defend themſelves, and are mutually bound to aſſiſt and deliver one another: So it now comes to be conſidered, that, ſeing the maintenance of Truth and the true Worship of God, were and are the principal ends and motives of contracting of Societies and erecting of Governments, whereunto both the People and Rulers, are not only ſeparatly every one for himſelf, but jointly oblidged for the publick advancement & eſtablishment thereof; & that God doth therefore equally exact and avenge the ſin of the Rulers only, or of the People only, or of any part of the People only, upon the whole body of the Rulers and People, for their ſimple Tollerance and connivance, without their active complyance with the tranſgreſſors; of neceſſity, both from the principles deduced, and from the moſt viſible judgments of God agreeable thereto, there muſt be a Superior and Antecedent obligation to

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that of Submiſſion, incumbent upon all both jointly and ſeparatly, for the maintenance, vindication and Reformation of Religion, in order to the promoting of theſe great ends of the publick profeſſion of Truth and true Worship, which the Lord doth indiſpenſibly require. And though this poſition be indeed more evident, where expreſs Covenants betwixt God and the whole People, betwixt Rulers and their Subjects, and betwixt the People and ſubjects amongſt themſelves in order to theſe Holy Duties can be produced; yet ſeing all Conſtitutions of Societies and Governments, do virtually ſuppoſe and imply the ſame, and are founded thereon, the Aſſertion doth with equal certainty firmly hold: But that all contradiction may ſtop it's mouth, let the import and true meaning of the Scriptures, and inſtances following be impartially weighed. *Deut.* 13: *ver.* 12, 13, 14, 15. The Lord ſaith, *If thou ſhalt hear that in one of thy cities, certain men amongſt yow have with-drawn the inhabitants of their city, to ſerve other Gods, and if after deligent ſearch, the thing be found a truth, thou ſhal ſmite and deſtroy that city utterly.* *Joſ.* 22: *ver.* 17, 18, 19. *Phinehas* ſaith to the two Tribes and the half, upon their ſuppoſed defection, *If yee rebel to day againſt the Lord, to morrow he will be wroth with the whole Congregation of Iſrael:* And *Judges* 22. *throughout*, in the caſe of *Iſrael* againſt *Benjamin* and *Gibeah*. All the places, as they clearly hold out the command and practiſe moſt conſonant to our poſition; ſo to think that the ſame may be evaded, by aſtricting the places to the *Hypotheſis* contained in the letter *viz*: of more or all the cities againſt one apoſtatizing, and that either an equal diviſion of the cities, (the one half faithful, the other backſlidden) ſhould bring the matter to an accommodation; or that the greater part backſliden (who certainly had

the caſting voice in that *Democratick* conſtitution, ſhould oblige the fewer remaining ſtedfaſt, to a ſinful acquieſcence, is to elude all Scripture, and mock the Holy Ghoſt by whom it is given. Now, whither theſe places and what is premiſed, do warrand an juſt extention thereof in favours of the People, againſt backſliden Rulers both ſupream and ſubordinat, or even in favours of a part of the People (with the caution ſubjoyned) againſt the greater part wickedly backſliden, let the World judge. Oh! did the wrath of God, for the hidden and ſecret ſin of one poor acurſed *Achan*, ſuddenly and fearfully overtake the whole People, and ALL THE CONGREGATION *of Iſraël*, ſo that, *that man periſhed not* ALONE *in his iniquity*? and had not our Reformers great reaſon to fear and tremble, leaſt the Manifeſt Tolleration of proud, cruel, and flattering Prelats, who had perverted the lawful Powers into bloody Perſecuters; and of Idolatours Prieſts, whoſe wickedneſs and Idolatry had corrupted the whole Land, might involve, not only themſelves but *the whole Nation*, in deſtroying and overflowing indignation.

We are not ignorant of the no leſs wicked then ground leſs cavils of ſome, as if we would make or have every man to be a *Phinehas*: And what then? Would God (if wiſhes, yea prayers and teares could make it) that all his Servants were as *Phinehas*, and that he would pour upon every one of them, the ſame Spirit of Holy Zeall which was in him, that by removall of the cauſe, his fierce anger againſt this poor conſuming Land might ceaſe. But as for that Act of *Phinehas*, the termes following being generall and ambigous, admitting of ſeverall diſtinctions and ſubdiſtinctions, as it is not eaſy without diſtinguishing,

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*in these* to define an Action and Call Extraordinary, and an Action and Call thereunto, only Heroicall; and to state the true specificall Difference and just limits betwen an Action and Call Extraordinary, and an Action and Call Heroicall, as they are strickly taken and contradistinguished; and clearly and convincingly to demonstrat, what and how much more is required in an Extraordinary Call to an Extraordinary Action, then is required in a sufficient Call unto an Heroicall Action? and whether an eminent measure of Holy Zeal, Magnanimity and Fortitude do constituta sufficient Call unto an Heroicall Action; or do only Dispose and fit the person for the right and better performance thereof, as a *Call* unto the Action, and the *Fitness* of the Person for doing of the same are contradictinguished; or may not both Dispose and fit the person for performance of the Action, and also include and give a Call unto the Action it self: So when the matter is fully considered, it will be more difficult then perhaps is apprehended, to prove that the Act of *Phinehas* was Extraordinary, strickly taken and in contradistinction to that which is only Heroical; or that his Call thereunto was Extraordinary, in contradistinction to that which is a sufficient Call unto an Heroicall Action; and more difficult to determine, otherwise then by naked assertion, what that Extraordinary Call was? Wherein it did consist? Wherein it did differ from, Exceed or Excell a Call unto an Heroick Action? And therefore, it will be also hard convincingly to demonstrat, that it might not have been lawfully done by another of the Children of Israel, whom the Lord had animated thereunto, by the same Holy Zeall and Resolution. And this is the more considerable, because, as we very rarely, (if at all)

find the Lord commending and rewarding perſons for Extraordinary Actions, whereunto they had Extraordinary Calls, ſo much and ſo highly, as here He Commendeth and Rewardeth *Phinehas*: So the Text it ſelf *Numb.* 25. doth lay the great, if not the only weight and ground of his Commendation and Reward, upon his ZEALL, and not upon any Extraordinary Call, whereof there is not the leaſt hint or inſinuation; For vers 11. the Lord ſaith, *He turned my wrath away from the Children of Iſrael, while he was* ZEALOUS *for my ſake among them*; and therefore *vers* 12, 13. promiſeth him, *His Covenant of peace. a ſeed after him, and the Covenant of an Everlaſting* Prieſthood, BECAUS, *he was* ZEALOUS *for his God.* And if any ſhall, as it is like ſome will alleadge, that Heroicall Actions, are not more Imitable then theſe which are Extraordinary; It is humbly offered to be conſidered, anent Heroicall Actions in generall, Whether, when the matter of an Action is not only Ordinary, that is, neither Preternaturall nor Supernaturall, though not very Frequent; but alſo Juſt and Lawfull, yea, and Neceſſary, both by Divine Precept, & as a Mean to a good and Neceſſary End; and when either, there is not, or doth not appear any other to do the work, whether, I ſay, in that caſe, a Spirit of Holy Zeall, Magnanimity and Courage, wrought and excited by the Lord in his Servants and People, moe or fewer, being otherwiſe in a Rationall and probable Capacity, be not for that time a ſufficient Call, unto the performance of theſe Actions which are commonly called Heroicall; and eſpecially when and where, the Action is not unneceſſarily, irrationally, nor in vanity attempted, but may be and is performed, not only without prejudice of the True, Neceſſary and Chief Good

Good of the Church and Common-wealth, or of any particular person's just Right and security; but also in the case of the Magistrat, and others, their wilfull and perverse neglecting of their duty, is necessarly undertaken, and is not only formally intended by the Actor, but also natively and really doth conduce to the Glory of God, the Good of Religion, the preservation and establishment of Church and Common-wealth, and of every particular person's Just Rights and Security, by suppressing of Impiety, promoving of Truth and Holiness, doing of Justice, Turning away of wrath and removing of present and preventing of future Jugdments. And as for the particular instance of *Phinehas*, if the Lord did not only raise him up to that particular Act of Justice, but also warrant and accept him therein, and reward him therefore, upon the accompt of his Zeall, when there was a Godly and Zealous Magistrat, able, & whom we cannot without breach of charity presume, but also willing to Execute Justice; How much more may it be pleaded, that the Lord, who is the same, yesterday, to day and for ever, will, not only pour out of that same Spirit upon others, but also when he gives it, both Allow them though they be but private persons, and also Call them being otherwise in a Physical and probable Capacity, to do these things in an Extremely necessitous, and otherwise irrecoverable State of the Church, to which in a more intire condition thereof, he doth not Call them; and particularly when there is not only the like or worse provocations, the like Necessity of the Execution of justice and of Reformation, for the turning away of Wrath and Removall of Judgments, that was in *Phinehas* case; but also when the Supreme

Civil Magiſtrat, the *Primores Regni* and other inferior Rulers, are not only unwilling to do their duty, but ſo far corrupted and perverted, that they are become the Authors and patronizers of theſe abominations. Which is alſo the more conſiderable, becauſe, if upon the fear or ſuſpicion of the Accidental hazard of Private mens uſurping of the Office, or doing of the duty of Publick perſons, every vertue and vertous Action, which may be ſo abuſed, ſhall be utterly neglected, Impiety ſhall quickly gain an Univerſall Empire, to the extermination of all Goodneſs. It is true, that the God of Order hath aſſigned to every man his Station and Calling, with in the bounds whereof he ſhould keep, without tranſgreſſing by Defect or Exceſs; and therein wait and act, in ſuch a meaſure of the Spirit as He is pleaſed to comunicate: And we do not hold ſuch inſtances for Regulare & ordinary precedents for all times and perſons univerſally; which while ſome have fancyed, and heeding more the glory and fame of the Action, then the ſound and ſolid Rule of the Holy Scriptures, they have been tempted and carried to fearfull Extravagancies: Neither are inſolent or diſorderly much leſs Wicked attempts, which ſometimes have covered and yet may mask themſelves with a pretence of Zeal, upon this or any other ground to be licenced or approved; But on the other hand, as theſe inſtances hold forth, for the conviction and reproof of our ſtupidity and indifferency, what an high pitch of Holy Zeall and Courage, the Servants of the Lord have ſometimes attained, and do further demonſtrat, that He doth ſometimes warrant even Private perſons, in their doing of theſe things in an Extream Neceſſity and collapſed ſtate of the Church, to which at other times He doth not call

call them: So when the Lord, with whom is the reſidue of the Spirit, doth breath upon his people more or fewer, to the exciting of more then Ordinary Zeal, Courage and Reſolution, for the Reforming of an Apoſtat Church, for the Execution of juſtice upon the Adverſaries, and for the advancing and eſtabliſhing of Truth and Holineſs in the Earth, wee should rather aſcribe glory and praiſe to Him, whoſe hand is not shortened, but many times choiſeth the Weak and Foolish things of the World to confound the Mighty and the Wiſe, then condemn His Inſtruments for Rebels and Uſurpers, as it is like *Phinehas* would have been, had he lived in this generarion, if the ſame Lord, who by his Spirit had Acted him, had not alſo by his own hand reſcued him.

10. As the Right of Self-Defence, mutual Affiſtance and Reformation, is properly and only derivable from the grounds adduced; ſo the Concurſe of the Nobles and *Primores Regni*, is no wayes of *abſolute neceſſity*, though indeed ſingularly couducible for the carrying on thereof. Unto which Concurrence, as they are doubly obliged, according to that, *unto whom much is given, of the ſame much shall be required*; ſo, if they shall convert their Power to the ſtrengthniug of the hands of the wicked, they do thereby not only aggravat their own condemnation, but by their endeavouring to wreath & faſten more ſtrongly the yoke of wickedneſs and oppreſſion, they do the rather and more juſtify the cauſe and plea of all the Aſſerters of Truth and Righteouſneſs.

Theſe are a part of the grounds, whereupon theſe Noble Worrhies, raiſed up by God & eminently by him inſpired, did ſingly act for His own glory; which as they

have left upon record for their own perpetual vindication, ſo thereby they did clearly purge themſelves from all imputation of Rebellion. Nor were their proceedings and practiſes ever by any ſo much as termed diſorderly, except by ſuch who being altogether indifferent in the Work of God, endeavour by all means to calumniat and shame them, from being made precedents to their own prejudice.

*Fourthly.* It is obſervable, that though the practiſes of theſe firſt times were Extraordinary, and to many may appear Diſorderly, Yet the faithful men whom the Lord honoured both to Suffer & to Do for His name, did conſtantly and boldly charge both the Riſe and progreſs of theſe diſorders, upon the Perſons then in Power & Authority, who, being ordained & entruſted by God, for the defence & maintenance of Truth and Righteouſneſs, (as the only true foundations and ſolid grounds of the Peoples felicity whither temporal or eternal; and including all the ends, for which either the Power or Perſons of Governours are appointed; and conſequently, the principal bonds of all obedience and ſubjection, for which all theſe engadgements are intended, and to which they do ultimatly refer) by reſieling and ſtarting out from this moſt ſacred and fixed line of ſubordination; As they could not claim Obedience to their unjuſt commands, ſo, far-leſs could they oblidge the people, to that more then ſlavish and brutish ſubjection, in the ſubmitting of their ſouls, bodies & goods to the arbitriment of their cruel Tyranny, directly contrary unto, and deſtructive of all theſe holy & great Ends, both of Gods Glory, and the Peoples ſpiritual and temporal Good, for which they were conſtituted Governours.

That this was the ſource and fountain of all diſorders in

in these times, and that it was so reputed to be, by these valiant Worthies who then opposed them, the History thereof doth plainly verify. Wee are not forgetful, how vehemently the Powers on earth, which set themselves against the Lord, and their creaturs and flatterers, have in all times decryed such assertions: The noise, belshings, & thundering of *Treason*, *Treason*, wherewith the very mentioning of such positions, useth at once to be attended and condemned, do already sound in our ears: Let such as are thereby alarmed, read the debats and controversies, both of former & later times; Especially these two *Martyrs* against Tyranny, *Lex Rex*, and *the Apologetical Narration* upon this subject. This is our peace and establishment before the Lord and all men; that wee with our Noble Reformers do acknowledge and honour Authority as the great Ordinance of God, for the uphold and maintainance of Truth and Righteonsnes; and the Persons therewith vested, not only as eminently thereby dignified, but also as most signally impressed, by a very sacred and illustrious Character of the glorious Majesty of the Most High, who hath appoynted them: But on the orher hand, wee cannot but wish, that these same persons would constantly remember, that not only they are the Ministers of God, and to Him accountable; but also his Ministers to the People for their Good, whom they neither ought to Tyrannize over at their own Pleasure, nor Rule only for their own Profit. O! that these sacred Boundaries had ever been observed, & that both Tyranny and Rebellion with all their Antidots and remedies, had been perpetually unknown. But shall Tyranny, unto which, Power, both in it's self is so easily corrupted, and by the flattery of others more fre-

frequently abuſed, be not only shrouded under the priviledge and impunity of a Divine Exemption; but thereby, in effect be more intollerably licenced, to the acting of all wickedneſs and violence, and the perverting and overturning of all the ends of Government? And in the mean time, shallthe Peoples moſt juſt & neceſſary Defence of themſelves, (whereunto they are ſeldome and very hardly provocked, even by the moſt extream neceſſity) & of all their moſt precious concernments, the very ends for which the Powers are ordained, be continually at the Arbitriment of any Court-Creature or flatterer, proſcribed and perſecuted under theſe odious names of *Treaſon* and *Rebellion*? Certainly, neither the All-wiſe Providence of God; not yet the frame of nature can endure ſuch a Soleciſme. For our part, as wee are perſwaded, that none pleadeth for this Abſolut Submiſſion in the People and Exemption of the Prince, but ſuch as for advancing of their own intereſt, have firſt proſtrated their Conſciences to the Princes arbitriment, in a blind & Abſolut Obedience; whereby they know themſelves ſufficiently ſecured from all ſmart & inconvenience, of that more Brutall thenRationall ſubmiſſion contended for: So are wee confident, that ſeing Subjection is principally enjoyned, for and in order to Obedience, whatſoever Reaſon or Authority can be adduced to perſwad an abſolut & indiſpenſible Subjection, will far more rationally and plauſibly infer an illimited and Abſolut Obedience; and that to plead for a priviledge in the point of Obedience, & to diſclam it in the point of ſubjection, is only the flattery of ſuch, as having renounced with Conſcience all diſtinction of Obedience, would deveſt others of all Priviledges, that they may exerciſe their Tyranny without con-

without controll. But He who hath called Rulers, *Gods*; Doth notwithstanding Himself remain the Most High God over all the Earth; & from his Obedience, neither the Commands nor Violence of Kings of Clay ought in the least to remove us. And as these inferior Princes do often forget their Subordination to the Most High, in their unjust commands; & would usurpe His Throne, by an uncontrollable Soverainty; so the Lord, by the warrand of his Word, and approbation of his Providence, and also of the People, (when by them oppressed, but by Himself animated & strengthned) hath declared & made void this their pretended exemption and impunity, and removed the carcases of such Kings and broken their Scepter. Amongst which precedents, the instance of these times, whereof we now speak, is worthily recorded, and deserveth better to be remembred.

Seing therefore, that neither the Ordinance and Commission of God, nor yet the Surrender of the People, though into ane absolut slavery (which yet no presumption less then their own most Expres Consent can possibly infer) can from any certain and rational ground and warrant, be either produced or pleaded for vesting the Prince with that arbitrary and irresistible Power and Dominion, necessary and requisit to oblidge the Subject to a stupid and brutish submission, to all possible injuries and outrages; and that it is impossible for any rational man, to concede that Priviledge of exemption and impunity to wickedness and fury, for murthering both the Souls & Bodies of poor Subjects, which our very adversaries deny to Weakness or Folly in case of Alienation of the Kingdome or any part thereof, or any such gross act of Mal-versation,

and

& laſtly ſeing the great inconvenience, of opening a door to Rebellion & all diſorder, mainly urged by the Adverſaries, againſt the permitting of the People any judgment or reflection upon the Princes Actings, doth more rationally plead for Implicit & blind Obedience, which they themſelves diſprove, then militat againſt neceſſary Defence and reſiſtance in caſe of perſecution for lawfull non-obedience; And that the great and true *Salvo* of all theſe inconveniences, and the main eſtabliſhment of the Throne, is only true judgement and Righteouſneſs, No ſober and impartial perſon can condemn their poſition, who denying that a Tyrannous Magiſtrat was the Miniſter of God to them for their Good, did plainly aſſert the lawfulneſs of Self-Defence, and holy Reformation, without the violation of the Ordinance of God.

But if all theſe things do not ſatisfy, Let, 1. the reaſon of Gods delivering of the Kingdom to the People and not to the King, with the Law it ſelf, *Deut.* 27. *ver.* 14. (which the maner of the Kingdom and in effect of Tyranny, foretold by the Lord and *Samuel* 1 *Sam.* 10. *v.* 10. by way of diſſuaſive, did no wayes repeal) 2. The import of the Contract and Covenant betwixt Prince & Subject, with the unqueſtionable interpretation and execution thereof, extant in the records of all Times and Nations; 3. The deed of the People in oppoſing *Saul* in favours of *Ionathan*, 1 *Sam.* 14. *v.* 45. and of the ten Tribes in rejecting of *Rehoboam*, 1 *King cap.* 12. (which though *v.* 19. it be termed *Rebellion*, yet is it no more thereby condemned, then good *Hezekiah*, who is ſaid 2 *King* 18. *ver.* 7. to have *rebelled* againſt the King of *Aſſyria*) and of *Libna* in revolting from under *Iehoram*, 2 *Cron.* 21. 10.

4. The

4. The Prophecies, Manner, & Practise of the most part of the late blessed Reformations. And lastly let the peculiar Right and Constution of this Kingdome by King and Parliament be considered and solidly answered; And then will wee also subscribe to the condemnation of our Reformers and crave pardon for this digression.

Upon these grounds and principles did our Noble Ancestours vigorously bestir themselves, and proceed in the Work of God. And as the Lord was ever with them while they were with Him, and did mind his work steadfastly in sincerity and uprightness of heart; so notwithstanding all the fals-hood and faintings which many discovered, yet the Lord himself did gloriously own it, and ceased not, until by the fair product of his own glory, in the clear manifestation of his blessed Evangil, he had without the least prejudice of the fundamental constitution and rights of Government, to the eternal confutation of all calumnies and reproaches, put on the Copestone with these joyous, and never to be forgotten acclamations of *Grace, Grace*.

Thus in the Year 1560. the Land is enlightned, the blessed Gospel of our Lord again revealed and restored; in so much, that both by the first General Assembly of this Church then conveening, and the Parliament then holden, A large Confession of the true Faith is framed, approved and published.

O! that men would remember, seriously consider and fix in their hearts, the greatness and excellency of this Work of Grace and Glory, bringing Salvation, Peace and Goodwil towards men; And manifesting the praise and Glory of God in the highest; that in the just estimation thereof, they might also duly and truly

ponder,

ponder diſcern, approve or reject all things conducing, either to it's advantage or prejudice. But here is the root of all our ſinn and miſery, that though this Light, be only our Life; and the Salvation and Redemption thereby revealed, be no leſs then the project of God's eternall love, and the ſubject of His eternall delight; and was more dear and glorious to our Lord Jeſus, then the boſome of the Father, & all the glory of Heaven; yet men, ſo greatly and highly therein concerned, do at beſt but rejoyce therein for a ſeaſon, and ſoon relapſe, firſt into Indifferency and Formality, and then into Error, Superſtition and all Ignorance. This the Devil, the author of all wickneſs, knowing and improving to the uttermoſt, for the advancement of his own Kingdom, doth quickly take advantage of, for ſetting on work and promoving of that Myſtery of iniquity. Which (ſpringing up in that bitter root of Pride, and working in the Spiritual power and ſubtilty thereof) as it began to work very early in the Chriſtian Church, even amongſt the Diſciples themſelves, in preſence of their and our Lord, (as appeareth by their contention, *who ſhould be greateſt*) And notwithſtanding all the Grace, Power, and Preſence of the Lord, which appeared in the times that followed, & all the long & violent perſecution, wherewith the Church of God was then exerciſed; yet continuing it's motion, did ſtill advance, until attaining it's maturity in the revelation of the Man of Sin, it filled and overwhelmed the Chriſtian World, with theſe ſtrong deluſions of Superſtition, Idolatry, and all darkneſs that ſo long prevailed therein: So it is the main and only Engine whereby Sathan, as in all other Churches, ſo in this of Our's, hath ſo actively beſtired himſelf, aud attempted the overthrow of their later Reformations.

Theſe

Theſe are the cauſes, why, notwithſtanding of that great and glorious Light which the Lord made to ſhine amongſt us, the true Government and Diſcipline of the Church of Chriſt. (though his own great Ordinance, inſtituted both for Fencing and ſecuring of Truth in Purity, and for promoving of the ſame in Power; and though by the Light of that ſame Truth, clearly diſcovered and Manifeſted) through long oppoſition and many difficulties, did ſcarce in theſe dayes attain it's eſtabliſhment.

Yet the Lord, who of his own free Mercy and Grace, did viſit us with the day-ſpring of his bleſſed Goſpel from on high; did alſo by his own Power and Preſence, in and with his faithful Servants, at length alſo compleat his work, and eſtablish his Kingdome over us and his Government amongſt us: And ſo the Kingdome became the Lord's; even the firſt fruits of the Kingdomes of the Earth, unto our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

The Progreſs and Period of this work, was from the Year 1560. unto the Year 1592. dureing which ſpace, theſe things are very obſervable.

1. So ſoon as this Church attained to freedome from perſecution and contrary violence, they Aſſembled in their firſt National Synod in the Year 1560. by vertue of that *Intrinſick Power* and Priviledg granted by our Lord unto his Church, and exerciſed by his Apoſtles and their followers; and that without any queſtion or control: Nor did they ſo much as petition for the licence of the then Authority, though the ſame might have been more eaſily obtained, then the warrant at that time impetrated for conveening of the Parliament.

2. As they firſt Aſſembled, aud by vertue of the ſame warrant, did ſet on foot and continue a conſtant *ſeries* of their Courts and meetings; (except in ſo far as by plain force and violence they were reſtrained) ſo they held the ſame in the Name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt only, and in his ſole Authority, by Direction of his Word and Spirit, concluded all their Counſels, Votes and Acts. It's true, that they much and long wished for, and thereafter heartily accepted the countenance and concurrence of the Powers for the time; and that, not only for Decency, but alſo as the gracious performance of that promiſe, *Iſa.* 49. *ver.* 23. of the favour and aſſiſtance of Kings and Queens to the Church in the later dayes: But as they were perſuaded, that the Lord Jeſus (perfect in all his houſe) when inveſted at his exaltation with all Power in Heaven and in Earth, did make a full grant and Commiſſion of all Gifts and Offices requiſit in his Church, 1 *Cor.* 12. *ver.* 28. *Epheſ.* 4. *v.* 8. & 11. (Wherein neither King nor Prince is mentioned) and that there was no Authority wanting to theſe firſt Decrees made at *Ieruſalem*, though emitted upon that ſimple warrant, *Act.* 15. *ver.* 28. *It ſeemed good unto the Holy Ghoſt and unto us*, (wherein neither King nor Prince was included,) ſo did they account it a groſs uſurpation, for the Kings on Earth, in place of their promiſed Patrociny (to which they are oblidged,) to claim and invade an Over-ruling Arbitriment in the matters of God and his Church; & beleev that He who eſtabliſhed the diſtinction and confirmed their Right, by ſeparating Cæſar's things from the things of God, doth alſo exact the ſame on their part.

3. The Brethren conveening in theſe Aſſemblies, did meet in perfect *Parity and Equality*; againſt which, the

the Extraordinary employments and Commiſſions delegated to ſome, upon the account of the particular exigence of theſe times, did grant no Priviledge or Preheminence.

From theſe three obſervations, without mentioning the firſt Book of Diſcipline, containing the true grounds and frame of Presbyterial Government, which was compiled in the Year 8560. and then approved by the whole Church, and ſubſcribed to by a great many Lords and Counſellors, it is evident that *Presbyterial* Government was from the beginning of the Reformation conſtantly intended, and it's foundation really laid. We need not mention that the Pope's Authority and all Juriſdiction flowing therefrom, was by Law in the ſame Year 1560, expreſly abrogated and diſcharged; nor that in theſe firſt Aſſemblies, greater Benefices were craved to be diſſolved, and Prelacy reputed to be only an *Humane Device*; nor is it neceſſary for us to clear, how that Extraordinary employment of *Superintendency*, uſed for a few Years in the beginning, was both only deſigned for an *Interim*, and in it ſelf wholly different from *Prelacy*, and was at length rejected as burthenſome. All theſe things are ſufficiently cleared by the late Large *Apology*.

4. It is obſervable, that as the Avarice and Power of ſome, who poſſeſſed and graſped after the Churches Revenues, did, by the procurement of a few packed Commiſſioners, in the Year 1671, introduce theſe Mock-Bishops (called *Tulchan*) for the better ſecuring of their own gain, which in the Aſſemblies immediatly ſucceeding, were firſt proteſted againſt, then quarrelled, and laſtly reſtrained and ſubjected thereunto; So the Lord uſed the ſame as a warning, to awaken and

animat his Servants to a more vigorous proſecution of the eſtablishment of His Houſe in it's due Government: In purſuance whereof, the Aſſemblies with the King's concurrence, from the Year 1575 until the Year 1581. did with much Prayer, Faſting and Painfulneſs intend the work, until by perfecting of the Second Book of Diſcipline, and reducing of the Bishops to a ſimple Dimiſſion, and condemning their Office as unwarrantable, they compleated their work in the exact model of Presbyterial Government, in all it's Courts and Officers.

5. During this ſpace in March 1581. (as we now reckon) and after the Aſſembly had condemned the *Office* of Bishops as unwarrantable, the King, his Court and Council did ſwear and ſubſcribe to the National Covenant; By which both the Pope's uſurped Authority over the Church in one Article, and his wicked *Hierarchy* in another, are abjured: And the ſwearers did join themſelves unto this true Reformed Church, in Doctrine, Faith, Religion and Diſcipline; promiſing by the Great Name of the Lord our God, to continue in the Obedience of the Doctrine and Diſcipline thereof all the dayes of their lives. Which Diſcipline, as the foregoing Aſſertions do clearly diſcover, to have been from the beginning fundamentally *Presbyterial*; ſo the Model of *Presbytery* being now compleated, and any ſhaddow of power that the Mock-Bishops had lately uſurped, being now fully abrogated, it is ſufficiently clear, that both *Prelacy* is by this Covenant abjured, and *Presbytery* owned and ſworn to. And really if it be further conſidered, that the Aſſemblies both 1581. and 1590, while moſt intent and forward in the erecting of Presbyteries, did enjoyn and require the ſame to be ſubſcribed by

by all ranks of People in the Land, and that these Acts were both seconded and enforced by Ordinances of King and Council, it may be justly doubted, whether the impudence of the succeeding Prelats in denying of the Obligation, or Perjury in breaking of it be greater. This is the Great Oath, into which, as the Lord God did bring us by the Power of his own Spirit and Truth, in opposition to that Bloody Bond, called the *Holy League*, wherein Antichrist and his followers, had at that time coujured themselves against the true Church of God; So the Kingdom thereby became the Lords, and we his peculiar people, as-well by the people's subjecting of themselves and their Alleageance, as by the King's submitting Himself and his Scepter, in a due Subordination unto God and our Lord Jesus Christ, for the maintenance and defence of his Church and Gospell, the Liberties of the Land and Ministration of Justice. And this Oath and the Ordinances enjoyning it, notwithstanding the many fearful violations thereof that have ensued, do yet stand to this day unrepealed and declared against, to the unanswerable conviction and condemnation, even in their own Courts and Consciences, of all it's wicked Transgressors.

6. As the *Tulchan* Bishops were the effect and product of the Avarice of these Lords that favoured them; So the same principle of Avarice and Wickedness did again resist the Work of God, when almost brought to Perfection, by stirring up certain of the Nobles to re-induce Bishops, for the better inhaunsing of their Benefices, and the devouring of the Churches patrimony; And not only for their better establishment, that what they want of Divine Right and Warrant, might be supplyed by the accession of the Kings power

and Command; but alſo that by their meanes, the growing wickedneſs of theſe times might abound without reſtraint or control, the Devil inciteth others of the more prophane, licentious and violent Courtiers, ſuch as the Earle of *Arran* and his complices, to move and inſtigat the King, contrary both to the Word and Oath of God, to uſurp the Prerogative of Jeſus Chriſt, who is alone King in Zion, and to invade His Churches Priviledges, purchaſed for Her with His own Blood, by aſſuming to Himſelf in the *firſt* and *immediat Inſtance*, the cognition of Her Doctrine and Cenſures: Which though the Church did conſtantly and valiantly oppoſe, both by Petitions and Proteſtations; yet this Wickedneſs did ſo impetouſly proceed, that all at once in a Parliament ſummarily called in the Year 1582. the Prerogative of Our Lord is translated upon the King, and his Juriſdiction and Empire exalted over all perſons and *Cauſes*, the Eſtate of Biſhops & their power and dignity confirmed, & the power of the General Aſſemblies of the Church put in the King's hand. We mention not theſe things with any purpoſe to debate theſe queſtions, which have been moved on this Subject; Only we are confident, that how extenſive ſoever the King's power may be in the caſe of Reformation (which, Alas! for the moſt part cometh ſhort of it's reach) yet where a Church is Regularly conſtituted, and ſo acting, and by Him ſworn to be maintained, no King or Prince ought ſo far to intrude Himſelf into Her Power and Priviledges, unto which he is neither called nor gifted, as to aſſume to Himſelf a Soveraign & immediat power of judging and diſcerning upon Doctrine, and her moſt ſpirituall Rights and Cenſures, and thereby in effect not only to conſtitut Himſelf a Proper and direct

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Church-Officer, without our Lords appointment; but in stead of Papacy so justly abrogated and so solemnly abjured, to erect and revive the same in Himself (a Secular Person) far more absurdly and intollerably. We know that other formalities and notions are pretended, as these of Treason, Sedition, and Disorder, to palliat and colour this Usurpation; but seing nothing spoken or acted by warrant of the Word of God, can fall under the definition or pain of these crimes, and that all Ministers and Ecclesiastick Courts are known, allowed and presumed, both to speak and act according to that only warrant, and Lastly, seing both the warrant is to them committed, and the Church is priviledged and permitted to have it's own proper power and cognition thereanent, as it followeth by clear consequence, that the things questioned, must and ought to be *first* subjected to her tryal and cognition; so none do deny the Magistrat's just right and power, over both these things and persons, they being once lawfully found to be destitut of the warrant pretended. But seing both Scripture and Reason doth testify against this Usurpation, as most unlawful in it self and injurious to our Lord Jesus, and that all experiences have proven it to be most pernicious to His Church & Kingdom, & therefore many of his faithful Servants have worthily and valiantly resisted it, not only to bonds and banishment, but even to blood for the Testimony of their Lord & Master; We return to the purpose of this observation, which is to vindicat the honour of the Lord's Work, and the memory of his faithful Servants, in the discovery of the old malice and subtilty of the great Enemy of the Church of God, working in the wicked Prelats & their abettors; who to the effect they may enjoy their carnall designes, and

proſecute their wicked luſts without controll, endeavour mainly by an abſolute ſurrender of all things, powers, perſons and intereſts, to flatter and exalt the King unto an illimited Soveraignty, and pretended Omnipotency, thereby both to oblidge and enable him the more to ſuch acts, deeds, and grants as are requiſite for the ſatiſfying of their vain Ambition, inſatiable Covetouſneſs and wicked luſts: Which Flattery and Uſurpation, being not more agreeable to the vain heart of man, then contrary to the Kingdom of our Lord, and the Power and Purity of His bleſſed Goſpel, what wonder if his faithful Servants (who can neither deny His Name, nor diſſobey His commands, by complying with the wicked practices, and the blaſphemous flattery of theſe vile Apoſtats) be not only hated of all men; but with their Lord and Maſter become the continual object of the reproaches, violence and cruelty of the wicked, as enemies and rebells to lawful Authority? Now that the World may perceav the wicked intent and deſign of this Prerogative, that it is none other then that of the Devil (as to conciliat and endear the Powers to Prelats, who while they creat the King's Prerogative, pretend themſelves to be the King's only Creatures; ſo to arm and animat the ſame Powers againſt our Lord and His followers.) Let it's Riſe and Effects both firſt and laſt be marked and obſerved, and the ſearch will declare, that wicked men luſting to Tyranny and licentiouſneſs, are checked and galled by the freedom and power of faithful Miniſters in the application of the Holy Word and Spiritual Cenſures. What remedy? This freedom is found Treaſonable, and prejudiciall to the King's ſervice and Intereſt, and the plain Zeall of God is therefore taxed as Sedition and

Treaſon

Treaſon; and under theſe formalities, the Priviledges of the Church are infringed, and all the aſſerters thereof laſhed with the ſame calumny: whereupon and to perfect the cure, the King muſt be declared IN ALL and OVER ALL; And by vertue of his fained Omnipotency, and for recovery of that Unity and Order, which only the coming of our Lord, His bleſſed Goſpel, and Powerful Miniſtry is pretended to have diſturbed, the Ancient Policy of the Church muſt be reſtored; and the greateſt flatterers made the Archeſt Prelats, who by inhaunſing and by deſtroying the Power, may compeſce the (pretended) inſolency of the Miniſtry; and by the continual pretending of Diſſatisfaction and Diſloyalty, may terrify men out of all Conſcience, until by the introducing of Will-worship and vain Superſtitions, they may extinguish all Light, and thereby reduce that Golden Age of Order into ſtupid Flattery, and of Unity into Implicit Obedience. And if theſe be not the kind careſſes, and moſt native iſſues of *Prerogative* and *Prelacy*, and the very reſtoring and reeſtablishing of the Kingdom of Antichriſt, he who cannot find it in this Period, will find all ſupplyed by the next.

7. Though we love not to reflect on Events, and know that no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before him, yet ſeing thereby the Lord's Judgments are made manifeſt, men ought both to obſerve and fear. The diſaſtrous ends of all the promoters of Prelats in theſe dayes, (*viz*: of the Earle of *Morton* beheaded; *Mr Iohn Douglaſs* Archbishop of *St Andrews* dying in the pulpit; the *Earle* of *Arran*, after diſgrace, privately killed: *Mr Patrick Adamſon* Arch-bishop of *St Andrews*, after recantation

and diſgrace, dying in extream poverty) may juſtly cauſe their courſe the rather to be shunned and deteſted: But that which we love rather to obſerve, is, that as the promoters and advancers of *Prelacy*, were alwayes known to be men of no Principles, and for the moſt part of very flagitious practices; ſo the reſiſters thereof and favourers of Presbytery, eſpecially the Lord's faithful Miniſters in theſe dayes, were not only very eminent in Knowledg, Piety and Holineſs, but above all had that great Teſtimony and confirmation, which our Lord Himſelf maketh uſe of, *Iohn* 7. 18. that *they ſought not their own glory, and therefore neither ſpoke nor did of themſelves, but ſought His Glory that ſent them, and therefore were true and no unrighteouſneſs was in them.* As both their ſlighting of Court-favours, by which they were much tempted, and their obſtinat refuſall of Bishopricks, (whereof King *James* himſelf bare them witneſs,) doth Teſtify.

8. The Lord, whoſe Work is perfect, and who when He beginneth will alſo make an end, hereafter in the Year 1586. shineth through the cloud, diſſipateth the darkneſs, and after the ſtorm bleſſeth us with a great calm; wherein, the Aſſemblies re-aſſuming their juſt power, and the matter by the King being brought to a treaty and Conference, the Bishops are firſt Reſtrained, & then Reduced. Thereafter the order of Presbyteries being ſet down & perfected in the Year 1590. both the Nationall Covenant is renewed and ſubſcribed, by Order of the Secret Council at the Aſſemblies deſire; and all the power that remained either in Bishops or Commiſſioners, by the Aſſembly is devolved upon the new erected Presbyteries. And thus the Work of the Lord, in the *Parl.* 12. *Iam.* 6. by the 114. *Act.* thereof

thereof, ratifying Presbyterial Government in all it's Aſſemblies, Courts and Officers, qualifying and reſtricting the former *Act.* 1584. anent the King's Prerogative, and abrogating all Acts contrary thereto or inconſiſtent therewith, and by other Acts there recorded, receaveth it's laſt and full accomplishment with Power and Beauty, added to the former Grace and Glory.

9. That, as only the malice of Sathan and wickedneſs of men, have in all Ages oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of Presbytery; ſo the Lord, whoſe great Work and Ordinance it is, doth no leſs evidently commend it, by making, as on the one hand, it's ſincere and holy ſeverity powerfully to coerce and reſtrain all vice and profanity; ſo on the other hand, the harmonious and orderly Subordination of it's Courts and Aſſemblies, moſt efficaciously to prevent and ſuppreſs all Schiſme and Hereſy: Which both the experience of theſe and all ſucceeding times do moſt clearly confirm.

But though the Lord had shewed us all theſe great and manifold temptations and troubles, and terminated them all in ſuch an wonderful and bleſſed deliverance, that we might for ever fear His great Name, love His precious Truth, and keep His holy Covenant; and though in the short Sun-shine of that day of Salvation, He cauſed both King and People to taſte and ſee the Order, Beauty and Power of that Eſtabliſhment; Yet, O! how ſoon did we forget the Works of the Lord? We keeped not His Covenant. *O Lord, the People of thine Inheritance enjoyed it but a little.*

It is not neceſſary for our deſign, that we ſhould trace and recount all theſe ſad ſteps and degrees, by which

which the Holy and Wiſe God thought fit, to bring back his Church in this Land unto that great diſtreſs that hereafter enſued, and cauſed her to wander long in a Wilderneſs of great Deſertion; nor what were the cauſes and beginnings of that ſo horrid Defection, (which the Hiſtories of the moſt partial pens, whatever provocations they pretend to be in the Lord's faithful Miniſters, cannot purge nor palliat from a mere deſign of carnal Policy,) carryed on by manifeſt Diſſimulation and palpable fraud. It is enough for us, (let the true Hiſtories of theſe proceedings be examined, and it will appear without the help of our obſevation,) that, as the beginnings of that Defection were no other then the Unfaithfulneſs of Man, and the inconſiſtence of the Wiſdom of God with the carnal wiſdom of this World, and that old oppoſition and rooted prejudice of the Kings and Powers of the Earth, who have for the far greateſt part ſet themſelves, and taken counſel againſt the Lord and againſt His Anointed; ſo for the unqueſtionable confirmation of all that hath been ſaid, either as to the wicked Riſe or woful Effects of Prelacy in this Church, the Devil's part therein was viſibly to promote his own Kingdom, by re-acting the moſt palpable and groſs Myſtery of Iniquity that can poſſibly be deſcribed: In ſo far as this Apoſtacy ariſing from ſmall beginnings, by fair and ſmooth pretenſions, crafty inſinuations, Court-flatteries, falſe calumnies and ſuggeſtions, open and groſs perjuries, and violent diſſorders, according to the working of Sathan; After great and long oppoſition by Conferences, Warnings & petitions, & faithful and conſtant Teſtimonies and ſufferings of the Zealous Witneſſes of our Lord, both unto bonds, banishment, & Sentences of Death, againſt the again

aſpiring

aſpiring Prerogative and uſurping Prelacy under it's shaddow, did in the ſecret and holy Judgement of God, chang the Glory of God and of our Lord Jeſus into the Similitude and Image of the Roman Beaſt, turning the Power of Godlineſs unto Formality, his faithful Miniſters into corrupt Hirelings, the Power and Life of Preaching into Flattery and Vanity, the Subſtance of Religion into empty and ridiculous Ceremonies, the Beauty and Purity of the Ordinances into Superſtitious Inventions of Kneeling, Croſſing, Holy Dayes and the like, the Beautiful and Powerful Government of Gods Houſe for the Edification of Souls, to a Lordly Dominion over Conſciences and violent Perſecution of mens perſons; And in a word, the great End of the Glorious Goſpel and it's Bleſſed Miniſtry, even the ſalvation of poor ſinners, which is the pleaſure of the Lord, the fruit of the travel of His Soul, the Joy of Heaven, the Crown and Glory of the bleſſed Apoſtles, and the End of all things, and of the ſecond Appearance of the Great God, into an Empty Title, and ſpecious pretext for the fulfilling of mens luſts and pleaſures, the eſtabliſhing of their Power and Tyranny, and the ruine and exterminion of all ſuch as oppoſed, and mourned for all theſe Abominations.

Thus, this Work and Kingdom of Darkneſs did advance apace, and had almoſt attained unto it's full maturity, of hurrying this poor Land and Nation headlong, into that Gulf of Confuſion, Error and Superſtition, whereinto Popery did formerly involve us, when it pleaſed the Lord, according to His Great Mercy and faithfulneſs, to remember His Covenant though we had fearfully forgotten it; and in the midſt of that growing darkneſs and thoſe manifold Confuſions to cauſe

cauſe His Spirit to move, and Light to ariſe upon this Land, about the middle of the Year 1637. Which appearing in the former Power and Glory, did from a very ſmall and improbable beginning, even the oppoſition of a few weak Women to the introducing and reading of that Carcaſe of formality, the *Service-Book*, then ready to be impoſed, proceed in ſuch an Univer al, Vigorous, Regular and Powerful method through the whole Land, without the leaſt mixture and ingredient of force and Violence, but only by theſe moſt warrantable and inqueſtionable meanes of Petitioning, Remonſtrating, Proteſting, and renewing their Covenant with God and amongſt themſelves, that before the end of the Yeat 1638. the Work of God was revived with more Glory and Splendor, then ever formerly it had attained. We know that not only the Renewing of the Covenant, eſpecially with the enlargement explaining the ſame, in order to the Novations in Worship and Corruptions in Government, whereunto this Church had Apoſtatized, and the bond of Mutual Defence thereto added; but alſo their Proteſtings & joynt Petitionings have been condemned as Seditious & Rebellious: But ſeing the ſame, both from the clear Word of God, the pure Light of Nature, the Zealous and Valiant Practices of our firſt Reformers, and the Lawes and Conſtitutions of the Realme are clearly warranted; And by the Power and Preſence of God were ſignally approved; and by the ſupervenient Acts of the King, Parliament, and Generall Aſſembly ſo fully eſtabliſhed and confirmed; And ſeing that they only were and are condemned by ſuch, as either being the Children of the Devil, filled with all ſubtilty and miſchief, and enemies of all Righteouſneſs, ceaſe not to pervert the right

Wayes of the Lord; or by ſuch who for advancement of their own Intereſts, have ſacrificed all Conſcience and Reaſon to Ambition and Covetouſnes; or by ſuch who in baſe and open flattery of the King and of the Powers, and neither knowing nor regarding any other Intereſt or Concernment, then that which dependeth on their Pleaſure, do ſet and ſerve the ſame in place of the moſt High; Or laſtly, by ſuch who never did nor do concern themſelves in ſuch enquiryes, but affect a pretended Gallantry in *Gallio's* Indifferency, therefore, remitting ſuch as are further deſirous of ſatiſfaction, unto the debats & Papers of theſe Times, and eſpecially unto the late large *Apology*, we ſhall only mention the ſteps and progreſs of the Lords Work, and our Engagements therein, according to our firſt purpoſe.

In the beginning of the Year 1638. great multitudes of people conſiſting of all Ranks, being awaked by the Arbitrary impoſing of a Service-Book, more corrupt in ſome things then that of *England*, and the Book of Canons, and the erecting and violent exercing of the High Commiſſion-Court, to the perverting of the Pure Worship of God, the utter ſubverting of all regular Government, and the confounding of all things Divine and Humane, and the deſtroying of our Civil Liberties; and conceaving the true cauſe of all the abounding Sin, & imminent calamities of theſe Times, to be the violation of the National Covenant, formerly thrice ſworn in the Land, they again moſt Solemnly, with a very wonderful & gracious mixture of Tears and joy, renew the ſame almoſt in all parts of the Land, with the addition above mentioned, to forbear the practice and approbation of all Innovations in Worship, or Corruptions in Government, until the ſame

should

ſhould be lawfully determined, and that other of Mutual Defence and Aſſiſtance, in the proſecution of the ends of that Covenant, againſt all ſorts of perſons whatſoever. And in *November* the ſame Year, the Generall Aſſembly at *Glaſgow* determined anent the foreſaid novations and corruptions, diſproving and rejecting under theſe heads, the five Articles of *Perth*, the Government of the Church by Bishops, the erecting of Prelacy therein, and all the Corruptions flowing therefrom, whereby the Oath of the Covenant is clearly explained and purifyed.

In the Year 1639. the Prelats being routed, run to Court, ſtir up the King, England and Irland with all their Friends and Popish partakers in Scotland, againſt the faithful Covenanters, as Rebellious and Seditious Perſons: But they having prepared for their own juſt Defence, the Lord by His outſtretched Arm and Power, diſpelling all theſe menacing clouds and imminent ſtorms, doth by a Pacification concluded, reduce a fair calm; The King therein aggreeing that an Aſſembly and Parliament ſhall be held, and that all matters reſpectively ſhall be therein determined. The Aſſembly ſitting in *Auguſt* thereafter, the Kings Commiſſioner being preſent and aſſenting, doth ratify the concluſions of the laſt Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, and the Commiſſioner and Secret Council ſubſcribe the Covenant, as it was then explained; and at the Petition of the Aſſembly, it is enacted to be again ſubſcribed for the Fifth time, by the Body of the whole Land. But no Faith, Honeſty, nor Honor binding the Prelats and a Court by them over-ruled; in the Year 1640. the King and Prelats vigorouſly arm again, and prepare for a new war: But this intended War is compoſed by a new Pacification, and in the mean

mean time, the Parliament (formerly adjourned until *June* 1640) doth conveen at the time appointed, and by their *fourth*, *fifth* and *ſixth Acts* fully eſtablish Presbyterial Government; ratify the Covenant, with the Addition and Explanation of the Aſſembly, and all Acts made thereanent; & abrogat the Eſtate of Bishops, and all Acts whatſoever made in their favours.

Thereafter, in the Treaty enſuing the Pacification, it is agreed that the Acts paſt in the laſt Parliament, with theſe to be made in the next Seſſion thereof, shall be published in the King's Name, and have the ſtrength of Laws in all time coming: Which Treaty being cloſed, and the laſt Seſſion of the above-mentioned Parliament ſitting in the Moneth of *June* 1641. the King in perſon being preſent among them, and the Oath of Parliament (for maintenance of Religion in purity as then eſtablished, and of the King's Authority, and the Peoples Liberties according to the Covenant; and for endeavouring by all juſt and humble meanes, of Union and Peace betwixt the three Kingdomes) appointed to be taken by that, & all ſucceeding Parliaments, being taken; by the ſecond Act thereof, ſuperſcribed by the King and ſubſcribed by the Preſident, the foreſaid Treaty is amply and perpetually confirmed, and the whole Articles thereof are ratifyed and recorded.

Thus, by all the Security, that either Sacred Oaths; or Acts of Lawful & Authorized Aſſemblies; Ordinances of King and Council; doubled and re-iterated Pacifications and Treaties; Acts of Parliament Enacted & Re-enacted; the Kings Authority and Conſent being often and ſolemnly interpoſed, both by promiſe and hand-writ; And all that either Religion, Truth,

Faith, Honour or Honeſty could deviſe or grant, theſe Wicked Prelats are caſt out of this Church and Kingdom, Presbyterial Government fully eſtabliſhed, the pure Worship of God, with His pure and powerful Ordinances and Miniſtry reſtored, and in the maintenance and purſuance of all theſe great Bleſsings, the whole Land, by many Oaths & moſt Solemn tyes, engaged unto the Lord for ever.

By all which Bleſſings, and the reſtoring of the Lord's own Ordinances amongſt us, as the Work of the Goſpel and the Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus, in the Converſion of many thouſands, were greatly advanced, and the Glory of God, in the abounding of true Piety and flouriſhing of Righteouſneſs, did eminently shine amongſt us; (as the memory of theſe times in all ſuch as fear God and love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt doth ſweetly teſtify) ſo all theſe great things were tranſacted, to the perpetual ſhame and confuſion of all our calumnious Adverſaries, without any diminution of his Majeſty's juſt Authority and Greatneſs.

As the Power and Glory of the Lord was great in this Land; ſo the ſplendor and fame thereof reaching unto other Nations, it pleaſed the Lord thereby to provoke His People in *England*, at that time grievouſly groaning under the Tyrannous yoke of Prelacy, and juſtly alarmed by the imminent fears of prevailing Popery, to ſet about and intend the like bleſſed Reformation.

It doth not concern us, to reflect on the Cauſes and beginnings of that War betwixt the King and Parliament there, nor what were the tranſactions betwixt the two Kingdoms in order to that Aid and Aſſiſtance given by *Scotland*, and how the ſame was mannaged: But this is certain, that, upon the Repreſentation of the

the most just and important grounds, of the maintenance of Religion and Liberty, against the prevailing power of Popery, Prelacy and Tyranny in that Kingdom of *England*; and their most instant and earnest desires for our help and Assistance; and the most rational & clear motives of our own Security, (the hazard and loss whereof had undoubtedly been the consequence of the Prelats Victory there) this Kingdom was induced in the Year 1643. to enter into that Sacred Bond of *the Solemne League and Covenant*, never to be forgotten, containing no other Articles then every one's *Sincere and constant endeavours, in their several places & callings, for the preservation of the Reformed Religion in this Church, in Doctrine, VVorship, Discipline and Government; the Reformation of the same in England and Ireland, according to the VVord of God, and the example of the best Reformed Churches; and the neerest Conjunction and Vniformity of all the three in Truth, Faith, and Love; the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Error and Profanity; the preservation of the rights and Liberties of the People, and of the Kings person and Authority in defence of the true Religion, and the Kingdom's Liberties; the Discovery and the punishment of Incendiaries; the retaining of the Peace and Vnion of the Kingdomes; the mutual assistance and defence of all entering into this League; and the performing of all duties we owe to God, in the amendment of our lives, and in walking exemplarly one before another*: And all these in order to no other end, then *the Glory of God, the advancement of the Kingdom of*

*Ieſus Chriſt; the Honor and Happineſs of the King and his Poſterity; and the true Liberty, Safety and Peace of the Kingdom.*

This is that Covenant, which in all the controverſies it hath occaſioned, did never receave a greater confirmation, then from the malice and oppoſition of it's adverſaries; who in the ſame Spirit & with the ſame Spite, have alwayes perſecuted and reproached it, with the ſame Calumnies of Rebellion, Sedition and Blood, which from the beginning, the Devill hath ever been moſt active to raiſe and ſtir up againſt the Lord Jeſus, his Goſpel, Kingdom and Followers. But ſeing ſuch only as are bleſſed, do evite the offence of Truth; and all who truely ſeek Gods Glory or Love the Lord Jeſus, did and ſtill do heartily approve and embrace this Covenant: though it had brought the Sword not only into *Britain*, but with the Truth into all the Earth; though it were reproached as unfriend not only to our King, but with our Lord Jeſus to *Caſar* and all the Kings of the Earth; though it had divided and diſturbed not only Realms and States, but with the Goſpel, families and neareſt relations; and had with Paul moved Sedition throughout the whole World, we ought not thereby to be either ſhaken or offended. We know alſo, that all the ſubtilty and malice of Hell have been ſet on work, and ſpared no calumny or cavillation, by which either it's Words, Matter or Manner might be impugned: But theſe are ſo often and fully anſwered, and, without the aſſiſtance of any man's Patrociny, by the obvious plainneſs of it's Phraſe, the Holineſs & Importance of it's Purpoſe, and the Juſtice and Neceſſity of it's way and Manner, ſo clearly confuted, that nothing can be added. Only

seing the Constancy of Truth, ought not to cede to the Confidence of prevailing Powers, as we have asserted and do hold, the subject matter of this League and Covenant to be in it self Holy, Just and True; so we cannot but disprove the dangerous Method of some, who the better to enforce the obligation of the Oath of God, do suppose the Matter thereof, especially as to that article against Prelacy, to be antecedently Indifferent, and not determined either by the Word of God or any other Moral Precept: Justly apprehending how easily in this light and backsliding time, such suppositions may become positions; and that the obligation of the Oath of God, now so much violated and little regarded, may be found too weak to secure mens stedfastness. As we are therefore perswaded, and would have all to consider and fix it in their hearts, that this wicked Prelacy and it's Hierarchy, are not only contrary to the Word of God, to the Practice of the Holy Apostles, to sound Doctrine and the Power of Godliness; (under which express consideration we are also sworn to endeavour it's extirpation,) but by the sad experience of all Ages in the Christian Church, especially in these our later times, had been found most pernicious to all Truth and Righteousness, and the main Engine and Device, whereby the Devil hath alwayes laboured, to advance his Kingdom of Darkness; and therefore hath been the great butt and aime, for the overthrow whereof, the great Work of God in this Land, hath been so Powerfully and Gloriously manifested: so do we most constantly hold, that as wel this Article against Prelacy, as all the rest contained in this Holy Covenant, were and are antecedently oblidging both to King and People, without the supervention of either Oath or Promise; and that the rooting out of

Prelacy, & the wicked Hierarchy therein ſo obviouſly deſcribed, is the main duty, in the endeavour whereof, (as moſt advantageous unto all theſe great and holy Ends propoſed by the Covenant) all the Zeal of the faithful ought to be concentred.

As for ſuch profane Jugglers, who neither conſidering this Oath and Covenant as a ſpecial Ordinance and bleſſing of God, whereby we are more effectually ſtirred up and enabled, to the performance of all the duties of Religion and Righteouſneſs therein contained; nor knowing that this Covenant made with God, and accepted by Him, is alſo the Lords Covenant with us, for the ſecuring and eſtabliſhing unto us, all the great Bleſſings and Priviledges therein expreſſed, & that, as we therein do avouch the Lord to be our God, ſo doth He avouch us to be His People, Do from the Righteouſneſs and Neceſſity of it's matter, vainly argue the ſuperfluity of any acceſſory Obligation, and would thence infer, that the ſame may be the more eaſily diſpenſed with or renounced: We do only remit them to that Soleinn Covenant *Deut.* 29. 10. *&c.* made there betwixt the Lord and His People, and thereafter ſo often renewed, only for their greater Engagement to the moſt neceſſary duties of God's expreſs commands.

We come in the next place, unto the Manner and Form of this League and Covenant; wherein, not purpoſing to reſume the many debates that have been raiſed anent it, we ſhall only take notice, that theſe old Acts and Laws *viz. Act.* 43. *Parl.* 6. of *Mary* 1555. *and Act.* 12. *Parl.* 10. *Iam.* 6. 1585. made againſt Leagues and Bands contracted without the Kings conſent, are now obtruded with the force and luſtre of a new Act. *cap.* 4. of the laſt *Parliament*, to condemn the

Covenant

Covenant, as from the beginning Unlawfull and Rebellious: But as these old Acts, at the time of the entering into this League and Covenant, did then stand explained by the 29. *Act. Parl.* 2. *Charl.* 1. ratifyed and authorized by the King himself, in a sense most consistent with the Covenant, and could no wayes render the same from the beginning unlawful, much less could the revival thereof in their greatest rigour, or the superveniency of any other Act thereanent, dissolve the Sacred Obligation of this Oath once lawfully contracted; so the reason of the former answer made ro this objection, and the Justice and Equity of that *Act.* 29. P. 2. *C.* 1. whereby the same was declared, remaineth in ful force, *viz. that no League nor Bond made by the Subjects for maintenance of Religion, Liberty, and the Publick good of Church or State, was or can be understood, to be prohibited by these old Acts and Laws objected.* Because, as the makers of such Bonds, cannot be reputed to be movers of Sedition, to the breach of the publick peace, (which is the expres reason and certification of these old Acts objected) so both the King and his Government, being appointed for the preservation of these great ends and Interests, and He himself principally oblidged, both by the Command and Oath of God upon him, to authorize all such bonds, Covenants, and other means which may advance the same; It were a gross Paradox both in Reason and Religion, that the King's neglect of his duty and perverting of his Office, to the overthrow of these ends for which he is ordained, should therefore oblige the People to a sinful Complyance and stupid connivance, to the high Dishonour of the Great God and King of Kings, aud the utter

ruine of the ſouls, bodies, and fortuns of themſelves and their Poſterity. It's true, it may be and is replyed, that this anſwer and reaſoning, doth proceed from an unjuſt jealouſy of Kings, and is founded upon an intollerable preſumption in the Subject to cenſure and judge their actings: But ſeeing the entering into this Coyenant, and into all others which we allow, was ſo far from proceeding upon an unjuſt jealouſy, that on the contrary, it was in a manner extorted, by the force of the moſt palpable and rational neceſſity that can be imagined; and ſeeing the feeling and diſcerning thereof, is ſo far from that criminal preſumption alleadged, that to diſprove it, is in effect to deny both ſenſe and reaſon, unleſs our adverſaries can prove that notwithſtanding thereof, the King is by God the Lord, veſted with ſuch an uncontrollable Dominion and Soveraignty, that whatever Violence, Outrage, or Cruelty he commit, the People are obliged by a patience, or rather ſtupidity greater then that of Beaſts, to endure without gain ſaying, it is impoſſible for them to eſtablish the Tyranny that they contend for. But that the World may ſee, that ſuch objections are only the wicked flattery of ſelfish men, and how little they do therein either uſe or regard Reaſon, in the late Act abovementioned made againſt Leagues and Conventions, it is declared, that the explication contained in the *Act 1640. viz. That ſuch Leagues and Conventions as are made by Subjects, for the preſervation of the King, Religion and the Laws, are not prohibited by theſe old Acts*, is falſe and diſloyall, and contrary to the true and genuine meaning thereof: which Declaration is not only a naked Aſſertion, and contrary to the expreſs reaſon and certification of theſe old Acts, which

which is before sett down; but so blind and irrational, that in case of an *Interregnum*, or the incapacity of the King to give His consent to any Bond, Meeting or Convention, which in such a case may be absolutely necessary, it leaves no issue or expedient.

It is not needful here to clear the necessity and advantages, which may induce Subjects to the making of Leagues and Conventions in certain cases, without the consent of the Prince; nor the exigence of these Times for the Covenant we plead for: These things are cleared by undenyable Records, which, all the Wars, Blood and Confusions that thereafter ensued, (flowing either from the perverse and obstinate opposition, violence, and Persecution of the enemies of Truth, or being the effect of Gods Righteous Judgement upon such whose hearts were false, and proved unstedfast in His Covenant,) notwithstanding all the present insulting of the Adversaries, doth nothing disprove. Neither do we here resume the above mentioned practices of our first Reformers, for justifying the case in hand, and the explication of these old Acts here obtruded; who, by all their necessary Leagues, Bands and Conventions, never conceaved the same to be contraveened: Only we cannot but regret, that, as the Act made in the last *Parliament* against Conventions and Bonds, was a fearful step of the present great Apostacy, and directly levelled against the same Covenant, by which the Authors of the Acts themselves were and are indissolubly obliged; so that old Act *Parliament* 10. Ja. 6. *cap.* 12. 1585. which is thereby ratifyed and revived, was also one of the woful Acts and effects of the wickedness that then prevailed in the Land, and doth relate to and is expressly founded upon the 43. *Act. Queen Mary, Parliament* 6. 1555. which, under the co-

lour of diſcharging Bonds of Man-rent, was by the Queen Regent, then raging in Perſecution againſt the Profeſſors of the Truth, directly intended for the overthrow of the Goſpel and Congregation.

We have hitherto only juſtifyed the lawfulneſs, or rather the neceſſity of the Covenant; as a *League* amongſt *Subjects* without the Princes conſent, and have not ſpoken thereto as a League with *England*, and the Subjects of an other Kingdom: Becauſe, as the firſt point is mainly denied by the Adverſary; ſo the ſame being proven, upon in the ſame grounds (firſt, of Juſt & Neceſſary Defence of our Selves, Religion and Libertyes; *Secondly*, of the aſſiſtance that we owe and do expect in caſe of Perſecution for Truth, from all Chriſtians in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, the obedience of his new and ſpeciall command of Love, and the remembrance of that great and laſt Judgement, wherein by this Law, all men ſhall be judged, without reſpect to the difference of Nations and Kingdoms; and *thirdly*, upon the ground of the Glory of God, which is the great end of all things, and to which all inferiour duties of Submiſſion and Obedience ought to cede) the Juſtice and Neceſſity of the Covenant and League with *England* may be certainly concluded. O! that men, who weighing all things in the ballance of their own ſelfish Intereſts and deſignes, do make the vain & airy enjoyment of Court-favour, and the evanishing poſſeſſion of ſuch advantages, as may be acquired thereby, preponderate and caſt the ſcales, in prejudice of theſe great and important concernments of the Glory of God, and the advancement of the Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus, Might yet be awakened by the terror of that dreadful and glorious Judgement of the laſt day, to an impartial conſideration

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of that duty, which we owe to all these that suffer and are persecuted for Truth. Surely if not visiting, not relieving and supporting (when it is in our power,) of the afflicted members of Jesus Christ, shall then be the condemnation of the Reprobat, (against which the exception of a contrary command of any King or Prince, or that the afflicted were by men for Truths sake declared Rebells and Traitors, or were of an other Kingdome, shall furnish no defence) Can we in conscience think, that the refusal of Assistance to the persecuted for Christ's sake, when instantly thereto required, shall be, upon any of these pretended grounds, excused in that day?

We do not here mention the supervenient consent and Authority of the King, by which the alleaged defects, to the acknowledgement of all our adversaries, were clearly purged: because (though the same will afterwards fall in, as a great accession to the conviction of all Apostats, yet) we bless the Lord who hath bottomed our Faith and Consciences upon more sure and fixed foundations; and who gave His People more evident and gracious testimonies of His Favour, Power and Presence, while they sincerely walked conform to the grounds mentioned, before the King's assent was obtained, then ever since.

The entering into and taking of this Covenant, was so much the more necessary and Praise-worthy in us in *Scotland*, for several reasons, 1. because it contains no other then the same Duties and obligations, which were before by us so solemnly Covenanted to, in our Nationall Covenant: neither is the restriction of our Alleageance, supposed to be made therein, any other then the true and righteous qualification of all such engagements, most consonant unto and approven

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by our firſt Large Confeſſion of Faith *Chap.* 25. Anent the Civil Magiſtrate; the Kings Coronation-Oath recorded, *Ia. 6. p. 1. cap.* 8. and the Nationall Covenant, as it was taken and ſubſcribed both firſt and laſt: And though our Adverſaries have inſulted upon the later Confeſſion of Faith, as if both our former principles and practiſes were thereby diſproved; yet let the words be conſidered. Viz. *Infidelity or difference in Religion doth not make void the Magiſtrat's Iuſt and Legal Authority, nor free the People from due obedience*, And we are confident, that no ſober man will think the acknowledgement of juſt and legal Authority and due obedience, a rational ground, to infer that Tyranny over either Conſciences or Perſons, is thereby either allowed or priviledged; which is all that by us is contended for.

2. Becauſe the ſame National Covenant did powerfully oblige us thereunto: not only upon the account of that obſtinate oppoſition, which the perfidious Prelats in *England*; both by raiſing Wars and breach of Pacification, had plainly teſtifyed; the revival whereof, in caſe of any probable Capacity, we had juſt reaſon to apprehend, and by a poſterior League, (at that time, a moſt neceſſary and probable remedy,) in purſuance of our former engagement, to provide againſt; but alſo in reſpect of that expreſs ground of oppoſition to the bloody bond of *Trent*, and of the deteſtation of all the enemies of Gods Church, who thereby conjured themſelves againſt it, contained in the National Covenant: which could not but be a very fair perſuaſion and ſtrong inductive, to engage in that ſacred Bond of the ſolemn League & Covenant, againſt that ſame accurſed conjuratiõ, which at that time appeared ſo active

3. Becauſe the Oath of Parliament, firſt taken in the

the Parliament 1641. the King being present, obliging us to endeavour *the preservation of the Peace and Union of the three Kingdoms*, did indispensibly oblige us to enter in this Covenant, as a most necessary expedient thereto.

Having thus summarily reviewed, both the Matter and Manner of this Solemn and important League and Covenant, we cannot but wonder at the poor Sophistry of such, (especially that more Temporizing then *Seasonable* Casuist,) who delude themselves in so great matters unto such an Indifferency, as to assert, that this Covenant doth as necessarily depend upon the King's consent for it's establishment, as the private vow of a Daughter in her Father's house, or of an Wife under her Husband's power, in things free and arbitrary, though not absolutely in their own disposal, did according to the Judicial Law of the Jewes, fall under the Father and Husband's power of ratifying or annulling: Bnt the simple proposal of these cases, doth hold out such a disparity both as to the Persons, (being only women under power,) the Things in themselves, being free, but at another's disposal, and many other Circumstances tedious to insist on, and even as to Law it self by which the case is determined, being meerly Judicial, that none who fear the Lord, or mind His Glory in any measure of Sobriety, will daigne it with an answer. And such indeed are the rest of the Cavils and Calumnies, wherewith the Adversaries of Truth have endeavoured to impugn and asperse this Holy Covenant; and are so fully and often answered already, that to account them worthy the resuming and refuting, were in some sort after Vowes to make inquiry.

There is one thing that our Adversaries have frequently objected, which we cannot ommit, viz. that the

the Covenants, both National and Solemn League were urged and preſſed, both by Church Cenſures and Civill Sanctions, of loſs of goods, ſequeſtration and other arbitrary pains, which hath been heavily complained of, as a great violence done to Conſcience: But as it was then too evident, that this Priviledge of Conſcience, was for the moſt part only pretended by ſuch, as had litle or no feeling thereof; ſo the Practice of the preſent times, doth now fully diſcover, that what is now ſo inſolently retorted, was never before really ſcrupled at. But the lawfullneſs of the courſe and practice then uſed, and the iniquity of this retortion will eaſily be cleared, if it be conſidered, 1. that the Nationall Covenant, being a ſtanding, & binding Oath upon the whole Land, and in the Year 1638. only renewed with ſuch an agreeable explanation, as none could or did quarrel, but ſuch as thereby intended, to palliate and perſiſt in their preceeding manifeſt violations, was according to the example of good *Joſiah*, (who brought back the People, and CAUSED *them ſtand to the Covenant of their Fathers*, 2 *Chron.* 34. 32.) moſt juſtly commanded, and under the pains due to the breach therof, ordained to be re-taken. 2. That the ſolemn League and Covenant, containing no other obligements, then what the National doth import, and being a moſt conducible expedient, both for the ſecuring and proſecuting the ends thereof, and whereunto, the National Covenant upon this ground did clearly oblige, The preſſing of the ſame League, is warranted not only by the former ground; but from the very bond of the National, became an indiſpenſible Duty: By which reaſons, as the former proceedings are clearly juſtifyed, ſo the preſent practice, (as being a direct and violent ran-

ranverſing of theſe things, which were once ſo righteouſly and rationally eſtabliſhed) is the more condemned. But whatever be the diſparity of theſe caſes in the point of Reaſon, we are ſure that light and darkneſs do not more differ, then the Lenity of theſe former times, from the Rigour and violence now practized; & that where one then ſuffered for obſtinacy againſt the Covenant, hundreths do now ſuffer for their ſtedfaſtneſs therein.

As for theſe Wars and great commotions, that enſued upon this great Tranſaction of the Solemn League, we will not thereon inſiſt: Only we are confident, that nothwitſtanding all the Calumnious conſtructions of our Adverſaries, al ſuch as ſeek out and have pleaſure in the Works of the Lord, will applaud unto the Glory and Righteouſneſs thereof; who, as by the ſword of Apoſtats in the Years 1644, and 1645. He did punish in his Juſtice, the Hypocriſy and Self-ſeeking of ſuch in this Land, whoſe hearts were not upright in His Covenant, and thereafter in the Year 1648. did by a prevailing Sectarian Party, reſtrain and crush the groſs and Generall Apoſtaſy then intended, under an Hypocritical pretext of purſuing the ends of the Covenant, at that time ſo palpably perverted and abuſed; ſo, for the manifeſtation of his own Glory, and of His Mercy to them that fear him and did not forget his Covenant, He did intermix ſeveral gracious Intervals of His aboundant Compaſſion; and at length did give unto His Work and People, a full and abſolute Victory over that malignant Spirit and Party, that had ſo long prevailed in the Land, and cauſed the wickedneſs of the wicked to ceaſe, and all iniquity to ſtop it's mouth.

Thus in the Years 1649, and 1650. & thereafter, the Lord

Lord was with us while we were with Him, and while we ſought Him, He was found of us; but as we did forſake Him, ſo did He alſo forſake us: by which poſition, all the mixture and varieties, both of our Actings and Gods Providences in theſe times, may clearly be reſolved.

There was indeed at that time in the Land, not only a party Faithful unto God, and zealous for His Name; but alſo a great Zeal of God, from clear knowledge and ſad experience, generally and ſolemnly profeſſed before God and all men in our Publick Acknowledgement *Anno* 1649: In conſequence whereof, the League and Covenant was alſo by the whole Kingdom renewed that ſame Year. And in anſwer thereunto, the Lord did mightily both ſave and defend us from all our Adverſaries: and as He ſoon ſubdued our Enemies at *Stirling*, and turned His Hand againſt our Adverſaries in the *North*, and cauſed the haters of the Lord faign ſubmiſſion unto Him; ſo, for His own Glory, the eſtabliſhment of His People, and the utter confuſion of His Adverſaries, He did highly advance His bleſſed Work, by the acceſſion of all theſe Advantages, with the Defect whereof, it had been formerly calumniated.

The Advantages we here mention are (beſides that Publick Acknowledgement then made, and in the deep ſenſe thereof, the League and Covenant ſolemnly again renewed and taken, whereby our Engagements were not only doubled, but ſtrongly confirmed) 1. Theſe many neceſſary and righteous Lawes enacted in the then Parliaments, both for the ratifying the later large Confeſſion of faith, and the larger and ſhorther Catechiſms, agreed unto by both Kingdoms, and for the reſtraining and coercing of Impiety

piety and Blasphemy, the encouragement of the Ministry, and for the promoving of Godlineſs. Amongſt which Acts, that abolishing *Patronages*, deſerveth a more ſpecial and commendable remembrance: Not only becauſe of the many woful Effects & Abuſes of Patronage, as it then was (& now is) exerciſed, whereby frequently, Godly men and in ſome meaſure qualified for the Work of the Miniſtry were (& are) unjuſtly reſtrained from labouring therein; Many Congregations needleſly continued deſolate, without a fixed Miniſtry; Many Naughty men and utterly inſufficient, at the ſole arbitrement of Patrons, violently obtruded upon the People, without and againſt their own conſent; Presbyteries conſtrained (contrary to the Rule of the Holy Scriptures) to ordaine men, whom the People neither choiſed, nor could cheerfully receave; Foundations of prejudice & ſtrife, betwixt Paſtor and People laid, whereby the one cannot preach nor the other hear with profit; Symoniacal Pactions often baſely made betwixt Patrons & the perſon preſented, to the diſgrace of the Holy Calling as-wel as to the ſin and shame of the Perſons; And the Miniſtry of too many, in diſpencing of Word, Sacraments & Cenſures, made to depend too much upon the Will and pleaſure of Man: But alſo becauſe, it hath no Precept in the Word of God, nor Example in the old Jewish, nor new primitive and pure Chriſtian Church, to warrant it; becauſe, Intentionally and Natively it ſpoileth the People of that Right and Priviledge, in Electing their own Paſtors, which Scripture and Reaſon alloweth; And becauſe, being the Patron's (pretended) Heritage, and therefore, by him vendible to whom he pleaſeth, the whole and ſole Power of Preſenting of Miniſters, Planting of

Churches, Preaching of the Goſpel, & ſetting Maintenance, may be turned over unto, & put in the hands of men, not only Profane & Strangers to both Church & Common-wealth, but alſo profeſſed Enemies of the Truth, yea, even Papiſts or Pagans. And therefore, (being in itſelf a grievous and unwarrantable Burthen; deſtructive of the Church and Peoples Liberties; obſtructive of the free courſe of the Goſpel; the Freedom, Power & Plainneſs of the Miniſtry; and occaſional of much baſe Flattery & Partiality, under which, from the very times of Superſtition which introduced it, the Church did heavily groan) it muſt needs be ſo much the greater Bleſſing to be delivered from it.

The ſecond Advantage which the Lord's work receaved, was by that great and long Tranſaction with the King in order to His return, and Admiſſion to the Government; which at length, after repeated Addreſſes, many Treaties, and the interpoſing of Forraign States and Princes, produced the King's Approbation and Allowance of the Nationall and Solemn League and Covenant: Which both by his great Oath unto the Moſt High God, and his hand-writ and Subſcription, he moſt amply aſſured, promiſing in the ſame manner to advance & proſecute their Ends, and to ſeek and procure the eſtabliſhment thereof, and of Presbyterial Government, and of the whole work of God in all his Dominions. We know our Adverſaries, perſiſting in their old malice, diſown and exclaim upon this Tranſaction as moſt diſloyal and inſolent, for Subjects (whoſe part is only to ſurrender & ſubmit,) to require and enter into Treaties with their Prince: But 1. as theſe reproaches are from the ſame wicked Spirit, falſe grounds, and baſe and carnall ends, which from the very times of popery, have reſiſted,

ed, and been objected against the Work of Reformation in this Land; so do wee thereto oppose, (in full assurance before God and all the World,) these solid and evident reasons and warrants, whereby not only these Treaties and Transactions with the late King, but all these old Contracts and Agreements betwixt the then Powers and People, (which in some sort, are the very foundation of the Protestant Religion in this Realm) are justifyed and approven: wherein if there be any disparity, the difference of a King upon His Throne actually Exercing, from a Prince only ascending thereto, must cast the advantage on our side. 2. Seing there is no Voluntary Kingdom, which is not both erected, sustained, and continued by a Fundamental Contract, and no Right thereto so good (though even that of *David* himself and His Posterity, who held the Kingdom, both by immediate grant; and interposed Oath of the Most High;) which is not setled and confirmed by this agreement; 2 *Sam.* 5. 3. 2 *Kings.* 11. 17. can any rationall man disprove or condemn *Treaties* so naturally antecedent and previous thereto. 3. The reason and necessity of this Treaty is so dependent upon the preceeding War with the last King, in which (as well as in his Kingdomes) this King did succeed him, that, seing it can have no opposers, but such as therein were enemies, we willingly refer both the cases to the determinations of the same reasons. And as for such who asserting the Covenant, and the Justice of the long Parliaments War, do nevertheless disprove our procedure in this Treaty, as their mis-information doth not prejudge the Truth; so neither are we answerable for their inconsequence.

The third Advantage which the Lord gave His Work, was by what the King did after his arrival in

*Scotland*, both before and at his Coronation, for the greater confirmation of the Covenant and Work of God, and the more ſtrong engaging of himſelf and this whole Land unto the Lord. Before his Coronation, he emitteth that Declaration at *Dumfermling* ſufficiently kuown by this deſignation, wherein *Profeſſing, and appearing in the full perſuaſion and love of the Truth, he repenteth (as having to do with & in the ſight of God) His Fathers oppoſition to the Covenant and VVork of God, and his own reluctancies againſt the ſame, hoping for mercy through the blood of Ieſus Chriſt, and obteſting the Prayers of the faithful to God, for his ſtedfaſtneſs: and then proteſteth his truth and ſincerity in entering into the Oath of God, reſolving to proſecute the ends of the Covenant to his utmoſt, and to have with it the ſame common friends and enemies, exhorting all to lay down their enmity againſt the Cauſe of God, and not to prefer Man's Intereſt to God's, which will prove an Idole of Iealouſy to provoke the Lord, and he himſelf accounteth to be but ſelfiſh flattery*, & ſo-forth proceedeth in the moſt cordial, ſincere & aſſuring terms, to teſtify his love and zealous reſolutions for God, his People and Covenant, and on the other hand his great diſlike and deteſtation of all Perſons, courſes and Intereſts contrary thereto. A Declaration, ſo full of heart-profeſſions, and high atteſtations of the Great God, that none ſeriouſly conſidering the preſent times, can reflect thereon without horror and trembling from the Holy Jealouſy of the Lord, either for the then deep Diſſimulation, or the preſent unparalelled Apoſtacy. However ſeeing the

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ſame is ſo aſſertive, that no words could adde to it's aſſurance, nor no argument leſs then the preſent Apoſtacy, render it to any neutral perſon ſuſpect of the leaſt diſſimulation; ſure we are, that the generality of the Kingdom, did thereby obtain all the warrant of the King's moſt full and clear aſſent to, and allowance of the Covenant, that either Law or Reaſon could require. Thereafter at his Coronation, how the King did again confirm the Covenant, and both He and his People thereby again engage themſelves unto the Lord, the order thereof printed and published to the World doth fully declare. In which, theſe paſſages are very obſervable. 1. That the King is deſired in Name of the People, jointly to *accept the Crown and maintain Religion* ACCORDING TO THE NATIONAL & SOLEMN LEAGUE & COVENANT, to which he declareth his cordial aſſent, *wiſhing no longer to live, then he might ſee Religion & this Kingdō flouriſh in all happineſs.* 2. After a Sermon moſt pertinently, plainly and powerfully preached upon that 2*Kings* 11. *v.* 12, & 17. (wherein amongſt other things, the binding power & force of the Oath of God, and the hazards of the breach thereof are fully repreſented) the Action commenceth with the King's moſt Solemn Renewing of the National and Solemn League and Covenant, which was in this manner. The King kneeling and lifting up his right hand before the three Eſtats of the Kingdom, the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly, and the whole People and Congregation, *by his great Oath in preſence of the Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, he aſſureth & declareth his allowance of the* NATIONAL COVENANT, & SOLENN LEAGUE & COVENANT, *promiſing*

*miſing faithfully to proſecute the Ends thereof, and to eſtabliſh the ſame with the Presbyterial Government and the whole VVork of God, in all his Dominions.* 3. That, having thus taken the Covenants, the King is preſented to the People, and their willingneſs, to have him for their King, demanded; which they accordingly declare. 4. That he did alſo ſwear and take the Coronation-Oath appointed and recorded *Parl. 1. Iac. 6. cap. 8.* to which both the Covenants are moſt conſonant; *Promiſing by the Eternal & Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, to obſerve and keep the ſame.* 5. That when he Sword was put in his hand, he is deſired to receave the ſame *For the Defence of the Faith of Ieſus Chriſt, & of the true Religion* ACCORDING TO THE NATIONAL & SOLEMN LEAGUE & COVENANT, *& for the Miniſtration of Iuſtice;* which he accordingly accepteth. 6. After the Crown is ſet upon his head, the Peoples Obligatory Oath is proclaimed, *whereby they all ſwear by the Eternal & Almighty God who liveth & reigneth for ever, to be true & faithful to the King,* ACCORDING TO THE NATIONAL & SOLEMN LEAGUE & COVENANT. 7. Being inſtalled and ſet upon the Throne, he is exhorted by the Miniſter to remember, *That his Throne is the Lord's Throne, 1 Chron. 29. ver. 23. And being a Covenanted King ſet thereon, he ought under God to rule for God, and eſpecially to beware that he made not the Lord's Throne, a Throne of Iniquity, to frame miſchief by a Law, even ſuch miſchievous Laws as have been enacted by his Predeceſſors, deſtructive to Religion,* and

*and grievous to the Lord's People.* 8. The Nobles of the Land being called one by one, and kneeling before the King on the Throne, and holding their hands betwixt his hands, did *Swear by the Eternal and Almighty God who liveth and reigneth for ever, to be true and faithful to the King*, ACCORDING TO THE NATIONAL AND SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT. 9. The action is closed by a most solid and weighty exhortation, both to King and People to keep the Covenant, and beware of the breach of it; which is enforced by these fearful threatenings and instances recorded in the Scriptures of Truth, against Covenant-breakers, particularly these, *Nehem.* 5. *ver.* 13. where *Nehemiah* did shake his lap, saying, *So God shake out every man from his house, & from his labour, that performeth not this promise, even thus be he shaken out and emptied, and all the Congregation said, Amen. Ier.* 34. *v.* 18, 19, 20, & 21. And 2 *Chron.* 24. 23, 24, & 25. With this Pathetick application, *That if they should break the Covenant, God would shake off the King's Crown, and turn him from the Throne; that he would shake the Nobles out of their possessions, and empty them of their Glory; and would deliver both to the hands of their enemies who seek their life; That breach of Covenant and Rebellion against God was an old and continued Sin in the King's house, which God had already severely punished: if therefore the King should not acknowledge Iesus Christ King of Zion, who is above him, but break this Covenant, God's controversy against the King's Family would be carried on unto the*

*weakning if not the overthrow of it.* And laſtly, both the King and Nobles are certifyed, that *if the King and they who are engaged to ſupport his Crown, ſhall conſpire together againſt the Kingdom of Ieſus Chriſt, both the ſupporters and the ſupported will fall together.* This is that great Action, wherein almoſt all the Solemnities are ſo twiſted with that ſacred Bond, that the World muſt acknowledge, that never King and People under the Sun, became ſo expreſly and ſtrictly obliged both unto God, one to another, & amongſt themſelves, as we were and are by theſe moſt Sacred Oaths of the Holy Covenants, moſt indiſſolubly engaged.

The fourth and laſt Advantage, was that plenary and laſt Complement of all Securities whatſoever amongſt men, *viz.* the Ratification of all theſe preceeding Treaties, Tranſactions, Engagements and Actions, concluded and enacted by the King, then having attained the Age of 21 Years compleat, and the Parliament fully and freely conveened in the Moneth of *June* 1651. whereby the ſame did paſs into a perpetual Law: And this Covenant which from the beginning was and is the moſt firm and Indiſpenſible Oath of God, became at length the very Fundamental Law of the Kingdom, whereon all the Rights and Priviledges either of King or People, are principally bottomed and ſecured.

This is the fair ſide of the Tranſactions and providences of theſe times, and the effects of the Lord's favourable preſence, and the conſequence of that Zeal which we have mentioned. O! that we had ſincerely minded and walked agreeably to all theſe Engagements, ſurely our times ſhould have endured for

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ever: but ſeing both our own backſlidings, and the Lord's withdrawing from us do evidently teſtify againſt us, let us aſcribe Righteouſneſs unto our God, that in the remembrance of all theſe Judgements wherewith he hath punished us leſs then our inquities deſerve, we may not only take unto our ſelves shame and Confuſion of face, becauſe we have ſinned againſt Him, and thereby ſtop the mouth of all theſe blaſphemies and boaſtings of the Adverſaries of the Lord, and His Holy Covenant, which our Backſlidings have ſo widely opened; but in the thoughts of His faithfulneſs be encouraged to hope in His Mercy, and for the return of our Departed Glory, although we have rebelled againſt Him.

The Principal Step of our Defection, and the only Riſe and Cauſe of all our Sin and Calamity, we acknowledge to have been no other, then that which is the condemnation of the World, that Light indeed came uuto us, but we loved Darkneſs better then Light, becauſe our deeds were evil. For the Lord did cauſe His Goſpel to shine amongſt us, in as great Power and Purity as ever any Nation enjoyed, and by the Advantages of his own Holy Miniſtry and Government, & the acceſſion of our manyfold Covenants and Engadgements, did beautify and ſecure the ſame unto us; And though that after a long continuance of all theſe bleſſings, the Lord by the Aſcendent Power of His own Spirit and Glorious Preſence, did bring the whole Land under theſe great convictions, mentioned in the concluſion of the League and Covenant, *of our not valueing the ineſtimable Benefit of the Goſpel, nor endeauouring to receave Chriſt in our hearts, and walk worthy of Him in our lives, the only.* Duty and

end of all our Covenants and Engagements, which is in effect God's greateſt Delight and Glory in the World, and all our Felicity; And unto theſe unfained reſolutions there annexed, of *Repentance and Amendment*; And laſtly though the Lord from Heaven had both plagued us for, and purged us from theſe fearful Apoſtacies and Defections, whereby men of corrupt minds, not holding the Head and End of all things, even our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, were both in the Years 1645. and 1648. ſoon turned aſide from their ſtedfaſtneſs in the Covenant, and became Enemies unto God's own Work and Cauſe, and had therefore ſtirred us up to the Renewing of our Covenant with God in the Year 1648, with and after a moſt Solemn Acknowledgement both of the Cauſes and Evills of theſe Defections, and a moſt ſerious deteſtation of, and reſolution againſt both; Notwithſtanding, we ſay, of all theſe things, Yet the great Sin and Evil of not valueing, receaving, and walking worthy of our Lord Jeſus. and the not directing and improving the great Bleſſings of His Goſpel, Ordinances, Covenants, Victories, and all other Benefits and Enjoyments beſtowed on us for the promoving of the Pleaſure of our Lord, and the Eſtabliſhing of His Kingdom, for the Salvation of Sinners, did ſtill remain. Thence was it, that the generall and great Zeall which then appeared, was ſo ſuddenly contracted to a very few, and much remitted in all; And that mens corruptions, turning former Profeſſions into feigned pretenſions, and cauſing many, (in place of the great and only end propoſed) to minde Selfish Deſignes, and Worldly advantages, the Lord was provoked to give up ſome to the proſecution of theſe baſe deſires, to which they had ſo quickly backſliden; And to abandon

abandon others to the deluſion of an over-credulous Charity: which two Evills did ſo far prevail in all the Tranſactions of theſe Times, that though the Over-ruling Providence of the Moſt High, did bring forth thereof the Advantages which we have al-ready mentioned; yet were Men thereby acted to purſue Treaties, over the belly of moſt ſignal Warnings and moſt pregnant Diſswaſives to the contrary, and to conclude Agreements, and accept of Securities in the great Matters of God, and of His Work ſo long contended for, and far advanced, which no rational man not preferring airy words and profeſſions, and Ink-ſubſcriptions, to plain refuſal, viſible reluctancies, manifeſt reſilings, open counter-actings, and ſtrong and continued prejudices, would be ſatisfyed with, in his own private matters of almoſt the meaneſt concernment. But though the Lord from heaven did at *Dunbar*, teſtify againſt both this evil and ſinful courſe, and the great Sin and wickedneſs that had procured it, and thereafter by many of His faithfnl Servants did give expreſs Teſtimony & Warning againſt the ſame; yet it is ſtil perſiſted in: And notwithſtanding that by a new diſcovery, after all the aſſurance contained in the Declaration at *Dumfermling* that could be imagined, the Lord did make it evident at *Clova*, that all theſe condeſcenſions were only the conſtraints of Policy, the Backſliding and Deluſion of theſe times did proceed, until, that under a pretence of Neceſſity, preferring the Arm of Flesh to the Almighty Power and Favour of the Moſt High, and through the perſwaſion of a *Mock-Repentance*, only agreable unto that *Mock-Treaty* whereon it depended, we were induced again, to break the Lord's Commandement and our own Engagement, in joyning with the People of theſe Abominations; to pro-

provoke the Lord to be angry, until He should conſume us utterly without a remnant or eſcaping; and by partaking of their Sins, became apt and ready to partake of their judgements, which the Lord, by the hand of the TREACHEROUS, did ſuddenly inflict upon us for all our treachery: And thereby, according to His Righteouſneſs and Great Faithfulneſs, as he had brought upon us the bleſſing; ſo He alſo brought upon us the curſe of His Holy Covenant, and the fears of our own Acknowledgement.

Theſe were our Forſakings & Backſlidings, which provoked the Lord alſo to forſake us, and at length to give us over unto, and leave us in the hands of our enemies; and to lay on our necks that long and heavy yoke of forraign Uſurpation, uuder which, from the Year 1651. unto the Year 1660. we did ſo grevouſly groan. The remembrance of which things, doth neceſſarily oblidge us to the Declaration of theſe things.

1. That as we deſire heartily to reſume theſe profeſſions of unfeigned Humiliation (for the undervaluing of the Precious Goſpel and ſlighting of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt) contained in our Holy Covenant, wherein all the Land without exception are and were ſo deeply concerned; ſo (although in the Narration of the procedure of our ſinful and Wofull Defection, the particular paſſages of Self-ſeeking and Over-credulous Deluſion, may import a narrower reſtricton, Yet) the Lord is our witneſs, that the pure motive of His Glory, and the Honor and Truth of His Work and Covenant, without prejudice to the perſons of any, far leſs of ſuch, whom we are perſwaded the Lord both did, and yet doth honor, to be inſtrumental in His Work, and faithfull in His Covenant, (though neither in the former practice, or this preſent perſwaſion,

ſwaſion, we do agree) have induced us to this reflection: which we earneſtly obteſt, may be looked upon by all, rather as the matter of our mourning then of our cenſure.

2. That whatever love and ſincere reſpect we retain for ſuch of the Faithful, who (through the Holy and Wiſe Permiſſion of the Soveraign Lord, by the influence of particular temptations, or of that general and powerful ſnare of an Evil Time) were carried on to a Sinful Complyance with the Evil Courſes thereof; Yet we are perſwaded, that the remitting of that Zeal, ſincerity and ſtedfaſtneſs, whereunto, in our Solemn Acknowledgement, upon the moſt powerful motives, we had then lately ſo ſeriouſly engaged our ſelves; and the more Politick then Pious management of theſe Treaties and Tranſactions; (wherein the advancement of the Work of God, and proſecution of the Ends of the Covenant ſo highly pretended, could not ſincerely and zealouſly be intended, by any imaginary ſecurity or ſinful aſſiſtance thereby obtained) but eſpecially the relapſing unto that moſt ſinful Conjunction with the People of theſe Abominations, ſo ſolemnly and lately repented for, and reſolved againſt, (which, in ſtead of being ſalved, was, by the Conſtrained, Politick, Diſſembled, and Formall Repentance then uſed, to the mocking of the God of Truth, and ſcorn of all our Holy Engagements, on all hands moſtly aggravated and exaggerated) theſe evils, we ſay, were the very foundations of this preſent Apoſtacy, and the grounds of the Lords controverſy, which hath ſo long, and yet doth ſo greivouſly purſue this Poor Church and Nation. O! that all men would yet at length, after all the evils and warnings which God hath ſent amongſt us, ſeriouſly conſider their wayes,

wayes, take unto themſelves ſhame, and give unto God the Glory, before the decree bring forth our utter deſtruction and deſolation. Who knoweth but the Lord would repent Himſelf for His ſervants, when He ſeeth our power is gone, and return on high for His own Glory, and the Congregation of the poor that compaſs Him about, and render vengeance unto all his adverſaries?

3. That neither failing nor backſliding of many of the faithful, nor the wicked Hypocriſy and Diſſimulation practized on the other hand, in the carrying on, and concluding of theſe Treaties, whereby the King was bronght under the bond of the Holy Covenant, doth leſſen or annul His Obligation thereto; far leſs the Security, which the People, eſpecially ſuch who know not theſe depths of Sathan, did obtain thereby, for their warrant and confirmation: Surely the greateſt Aggravation of Perjury, cannot annul the Sacred Obligation of an Oath; nor an intended Falshood, looſe the bond of Truth; nor will vile Diſſimulation, and the moſt fearful mocking of God and the whole World, deliver from His Holy Juſtice and Jealouſy, who is a terrible and ſwift witneſs againſt, and avenger of all ſuch abominations. Did the wicked diſſimulation and rebellious heart of the Children of Iſrael, wherewith they entered in Covenant with the Lord, *Deu.* 29. 10. *to* 28. liberate them from the ſin of Apoſtacy, and all theſe fearful plagues threatened againſt it? Did not that Diſſimulate promiſe and engagement of the remnant of the Jewes, made to *Ieremiah chap.* 42. 20. rather haſten and aggravat the punishment of their diſobedience, *v.* 21, *and* 22? All who love Truth or fear an Oath, do no doubt abhor ſuch wickedneſs. But the main objection is, that all theſe condeſcenſions

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were extorted by Force and Fear, which doth excuse the Dissimulation, and annul the Oath. We shall not here insist to clear and refute this cavillation, which others have so fully answered: For as to the position, *that neither force nor fear, do cause to cease the obligation of an Oath in a matter meerly Indifferent, much less, Holy, Righteous and true* (as the matter of the Covenant is) all yeeld. But that neither Force, Fear, nor any other indirect way can be alleadged for the annulling of these engagements, both the preceeding Treaties, the just and necessary Reasons, and all other circumstances do most evidently confirm; So that the whole World may justly wonder, that these men, who both in profession and practice, do plainly evidence their profane Indifferency, and regardless violation of all Oaths, wherein Interest doth not concurre, should by the manifest Patronizing of all Perfidy (whereof no instance can be adduced in the breach of any treaty, wherein the stronger & weaker did ever compose any matter of Right, which is not more justifyable) & the shamefull disgracing of the King himself, (whom neither Conscience, Honor, Honesty, nor the example of his Father could teach the constancy of the most mean and abject of his Subjects,) should plead & pretend to rational pretext for the present Apostacy, and not rather content themselves, to say with the King in one of his Declarations, emitted shortly after his return to *England*, *that it is well known by what abusive meanes His Majesty was adduced to make and publish that Declaration at Dumfermling*, without any more special condescendence, which is impossible. But oh! that the World did also know and consider all the re-iterated Oaths and Subscriptions, High and Solemn

Solemn Atteſtations, Free and unrequired Profeſſions, Fearfull Execrations, made before God, Angels and Men, both in Publick, upon the Throne, under the Crown, in plain Parliament, and alſo in Private Conferences, which many yet alive can ſufficiently atteſt; by which this poor Church and Nation was inſnared, and precipitated into all the Sin and Miſery, that ſince the Year 1650. unto this day, hath afflicted us. However the Lord, who ſeeth and heareth, doth alſo conſider, to require it, and the violence done to Himſelf in many of his ſuffering members, who partly even in the conſcience of the very things, which they that are moſtly therein concerned, do mock at, dare not proſtitute their Conſciences in an ambulatory Complyance, with the wicked Apoſtacy in theſe times.

4. We cannot but obſerve, that after the prevailing, and during the time of the English uſurpation, theſe only, for the moſt part, remained mindful of, and faithful to the King, who were faithful and ſtedfaſt in the Covenant; when as theſe, who formerly did, and at preſent do pretend ſo highly for the King, in prejudice both of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Holy Covenant, did in their ſlavish complyance, abandon all Alleagance and Honeſty, to complement the then Powers, for the promoving of their own ſelfish deſignes, which is the only bond of all their Engagements, and rule and aim of all their Actions. And though many of them do now pretend to have been ſufferers, yet it is well known, that if they had had the half of theſe temptations, which the Faithful upon the account of their alleageance did conſtantly reſiſt, the Kings Intereſt for their part, had been for ever forgotten, as it was by many of them openly renounced and abjured; And that the main reaſon of their then ſeeming and pre-

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tended Loyalty, was the improbability of credit with, and acceptance from the Usurpers, because of their known Naughtiness.

Having thus declared the Lords great Work and Glorious Presence amongst us, in all these Mercies and Judgements which he shewed upon us, and these strange Vicissitudes & Alternations, sometimes of His Grace & Power, engageing us with heart & hand unto Himself, sometimes of our own hearts Wickedness and Unstedfastness, again causing us to apostatize and backslide from His Holy Command and Covenant, which, daring the space of an hundred years from the Year 1560, have in the Holy and Wise Providence of God passed over us; that by all these great Temptations, which our eyes have seen, and the Signs and wonders which he hath wrought, we might know, that the Lord is our God, and Jesus Christ our King; and that by all these things, He only went about to establish us for a peculiar People unto Himself, in the Glorious Light of His Truth, and Beauty of His Holiness, far exalted above many other Nations. We are now come to the Year 1660, wherein though the Lord was pleased according to His Glorious Soveraignity, by His own immediate hand, to break the yoke of our Oppressors, restore our Covenanted King, Lawes and Liberties, and to make all Factions, Parties and Interests, not only to cede unto, but unanimously to conspire for this Blessed Restitution; yet how evidently hath it since appeared, that the Lord had not given unto us an heart to perceave, eyes to see, nor ears to hear, unto that very day.

We need not here resume the King's most Solemn and Indissoluble Engagements, which we have so lately mentioned, nor add that after *Worcester* fight,

and from beyond Sea, he did confirm by private letters to perſons of unqueſtionable credit, that he was, and through the Grace of God would continue, the ſame man that he had declared Himſelf to be in *Scotland*; nor that it was the conſcience of that clauſe of the Covenant, relating to the maintenance of His Perſon and Authority, which during the times of Uſurpation, did retain the ſence and love of his Intereſt, ſo fresh and deeply rooted in mens hearts; Nor that the publick owning, publishing and reprinting thereof by the then Parliament in *England* in *March* 1660. was the firſt Publick Act that durſt or did appear in his favours; Nor laſtly need we remember that Letter written and directed by the King, after his return to the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* and this whole Church, wherein he declares Himſelf *reſolued, by the Grace of God to protect and preſerve the Government of the Church of Scotland as it is ſetled by Law without violation*; Seing that though according to it's then State and poſture, ſuch a Solemn and Publick Aſſurance might have been reputed a perpetual Security; yet the whole ſtrain of the Letter, is ſuch as tendeth only to divide the whole Miniſtery, and to abuſe the greater part of them: And particularly, the altering and ſuppreſſing of that moſt fixed and certain ground of his Engagement, even the Word of God and the Holy Covenant, for that of *Law*, which is but frail and moveable, did even then diſcover to many, that latent Diſſimulation and Inſtability, whereby others were either weakly or willingly deluded. The thing we obſerve is, that both King and Peoples Obligations were not then greater, then the oportunity appeared to be moſt happy, for the accomplishing

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of the Lord's Work, the making of his Name Great & One in all these Nations, & the Nations happy & high above all Nations in Name & in Praise, & the establishing of the King and his posterity upon the Throne in Glory & prosperity, & that the owning of, & adhering unto the Solemn League and Covenant, our *Magna Charta* of Religion and Righteousnes, had both in the perswasion of all sober men, and even in the conviction of the greatest part of our Adversaries, infallibly produced, and effectuated all these blessings.

But Oh! how suddenly and strangely was this blessed appearance overclouded, the expectation of all the Godly disappointed, the joy and peace of all corrupted and marred, and this Land reduced unto this present so woful desolation and sore distress, which though the groans, tears, and the Blood of the Persecuted, the cry of Violence and Oppression, the Desolation and Profanation of Gods Sanctuary, the reigning power of Darkness, the Pride, Rage and Blasphemy of Perjury and all Profanity, which hath filled the Land, and the dreadful Wrath of the most Holy and Great God, which both burneth round about, and hangeth over it, do sufficiently make manifest, yet for our greater upstirring to consider and lay to heart, that all these evils are come upon us because our God is not amongst us, and what the heat of this great Anger meaneth, & also for the clearing of the Innocency & Testimony of the Lords sufferers, we do shortly exhibite the violent course of this precipitant Defection.

The King being returned and re-established in May 1660. the Antichristian Spirit of Prelacy, ever enemy to the Gospel and Kingdom of our Lord Jesus,

and the Holy Covenant whereby the ſame are promoted, taking occaſion from theſe many troubles and confuſions, which the oppoſition and falſe-heartedneſs of many in the ſame Covenant, did principally provoke the Lord to inflict upon thir Lands, and advantage from the proneneſs of mens Power to decline unto Tyranny, and their corruptions to all licentiouſneſs, did firſt moſt falſely and atrociouſly ſlander the Covenant as the Bond of all Iniquity, Rebellion and Confuſion, which prejudice being enforced which many apparent advantages that then did attend it, did ſo ſuddenly and ſtrongly ſpread and root it ſelf in the hearts of our Nobles, Rulers, and the generality of the Land, that, without ſo much as ſeriouſly reflecting upon their former ſo Solemn Engagements, Sacred Oaths, Publick Profeſſions, Vigorous Actings and Appearances for the Cauſe and Covenant of the Lord, with any conſideration of Conſcience, Honeſty, or Honor, which ſo great and ſudden a mutation from their former wayes, though they had been as wicked, as in effect they are true and righteous, did certainly call for in ſober and earneſt Repentance, they with the concurrence of ſuch vile Sycophants and treacherous perſons in the Church and Miniſtry, as the worldly wealth and Power of Prelacy had wickedly debauched, ſet themſelves in a moſt determined and reſolute Fury, whereinto all their former zeal for God is by the malice of Satan ſuddenly corrupted, by the plain force of Power, and colour of Authority, whereunto they had now attained, to deface and overturn the whole Work of God, raze it's fundations, annul His Covenants, repeal all Acts made in their favors, incapacitate and perſecute all oppoſers, and laſtly to efface and diſſolve all ſenſe and bond of Conſcience,

by

by which this fearful course of Apostacy, might be in the least, checked or controlled.

We shall not here premise any thing, for clearing of the Unlawfulness of the succeeding Acts and Deeds, whereby this Apostacy was carried on, and for the loosing and freeing of us from all obligation of Obedience thereto, or Complyance therewith: Any who can but suppose, that not only a whole Parliament but also all men are, and have often been found liars, and compare impartially the things present with the things that are past, must necessarily conclude, that all these Acts and Deeds of Defection were and are Gross Perjury and Wickedness, and that so long as that maxim shal hold, *that we ought rather to obey God then Man*, they can never be binding either in Conscience or Reason.

Seing therefore that the only Rule of these Counteractings aud overturnings, was to destroy that which the Lord had so gloriously planted, and to loose that whereunto we were and are indissolubly obliged, referring our selves to what is already said, for vindicating the Lords Work and our Holy Covenants, we proceed to lay forth the Sinfulness and Wofulness of this Defection, as follows.

1. In *July* 1660. by immediate clandestine warrants, without any cause signifyed or citation given, the Lord Marquess of *Argile* and some other Gentlemen, (who were conceaved to have been instrumental in the former Work of God, and that they might be of influence for obstructing of the then designed overthrow thereof) were attached and committed close Prisoners.

2. In *August* 1660. the Committee of Estates appointed by the Parliament 1651. being again set down,

the very firſt day of their meeting, do violently ſeiſe upon ſeveral faithful Miniſters, peaceably and quietly aſſembled together, and imployed in the drawing up of a monitory Letter to the King, in the moſt rational and dutiful manner, and for the moſt important and neceſſary Ends, of Gods Glory, and the Kings ſervice, that can be imagined, as the Letter it ſelf ſet down at large in the *Apologetick Narration* doth teſtifie. And though this duty and employment was no other, then what the meaneſt ſubject in the moſt private capacity might, and all were indiſpenſibly obliged to have done; yet thoſe Miniſters and one Gentleman with them, are therefore, inſtantly without hearing, committed Priſoners.

3. This Committee proceeding to prepare for the ſucceeding Parliament, (which was all it's work and deſign) the Parliament ſiteth down the 1 day of *January*. Where, having taken the Oath of *Supremacy*, without reſpect to it's due limitation contained in the 114. *Act. Ia. 6. Parl.* 12. 1592. then ſtanding unrepealed; and exalting the Kings prerogative, upon the alleaged Warrand of the *VVord of God and Laws of the Land* (but in effect directly contrary to both) above all Offices, Parliaments, Laws, Leagues, Conventions, Peace and War; and likwiſe upon meer aſſertions & alleageances in place of declaring upon known and certain grounds (which is all that any Parliament can lawfully do) directly Innovating the Fundamental Law & Conſtitution of the Kingdom, & thereby making the Kings Throne, the foundation of all the ſucceeding Perjury and Apoſtacy; They ſpoil and diveſt, firſt, the *Solemn League and Covenant*, and then the *National Covenant*, *Presbyterial Government*, & the

the whole Work of God, of all legal warrand and Authority; Declaring *all Acts and Practiſes made and ſtanding in favours thereof, to be void and null*: And by the ſame great *Act reſciſory*, they revive and reinforce all the corruptions and Superſtitions of Croſſing, Kneeling and the like, introduced by any Parliament ſince the Reformation. As the Acts of the firſt Seſſion of the laſt Parliament do clearly teſtify.

Although that theſe Acts have been and are, both in themſelves & in their effects, juſt cauſe of great aſtonishment and mourning to all the Faithful in the Land; yet when we remember that height of Wickedneſs and Profanity that then abounded, and the falſe, flattering, & perjurious Sermons & practiſes, by which the Parliament was thereunto inſtigated, but moſt of all that Act that then paſſed for an Anniverſary Thankſgiving; wherein, as if we had been delivered to commit all this great Wickedneſs, the Spirit and Work of the Lord are heinouſly blaſphemed and calumniated, as the only Author and Cauſe of all the Blood, Bondage, Uſurpation, Rebellion, Rapine, Violence and other Evils, that either the malice and wickedneſs of men had cauſed, or God in his Righteous Judgement had therefore permitted or inflicted; and the Ranverſing of our Bleſſed Reformation, Holy Covenants, and the Righteous Laws whereby they were eſtabliſhed, accounted the Reſtitution of Religion, Righteouſneſs, and Liberties; And the 29 of *May*, as moſt Auſpicious, appointed for the yearly ſolemn commemoration thereof. (A day, the profane Inſtitution whereof cannot be better demonſtrated, then by it's more profane obſervance and celebration ever ſince

practiſed) Theſe things, we ſay, being conſidered, do juſtly adde horror to our aſtonishment & trembling unto our mourning. But that their practiſe might be alſo conſonant to their Acts and Statutes, and, by cutting off or laying aſide it's moſt eminent Oppoſers, the return of Prelacy might be more effectually promoted, in the ſame *Seſſion* of *Parliament*, not only was that Innocent and Faithful one, *Mr Guthry*, (ſingled out and ſignally honoured by God, to bear teſtimony to the Kingdom of His Son Jeſus Chriſt, His Cauſe and Covenant, (for no other fault then his faithfulneſs therein, and his Declining the King's uſurped Authority in prejudice of the Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus, and the priviledges of His Church, clearly warranded by 114 Act *Parl. 12. Ja. 6.* then ſtanding unrepeal'd, and by a great cloud of faithful Witneſſes, who in like manner did teſtify againſt this Uſurpation) cruelly ſlain and put to death; But alſo, under the colour of certain Epidemick crimes, wherein the Soveraignity of Divine Providence, more then any man's malice, had involved the whole Land, others who had been eminent in the Work of God, particularly the Marqueſs of *Argyle*, were condemned to death, and forfeited: and ſeveral other Faithful Miniſters, beſides theſe who were at firſt impriſoned by the Committee of Eſtates, were without any cauſe ſignifyed, impriſoned, confined, or otherwiſe vexed and incapacitated.

4. The riſe and re-eſtabliſhment of this Antichriſtian Prelacy being thus prepared, in the interval after this firſt Seſſion of Parliament, the King nominateth and preſenteth Bishops; and four of them being called to Court, are there Re-ordained and Conſecrated: and that in ſuch a manner as doth clearly infer their diſowning and renouncing their former Miniſtery,

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and their Warrand & Miſſion thereunto. In conſequence whereof, all the Ordinary meetings of Presbyteries and Synods are diſcharged, until they should of new be licenced & Authorized thereto by the Bishops now nominated and appointed, and, to the effect that matters might the better ſucceed, ſeveral of our Faithful Miniſters, upon groundleſs ſuſpitions, and for refuſing of the Oath of Supremacy arbitrarly and rigorouſly impoſed, without ſo much as admitting ſuch qualifications, as no Chriſtian ought or can deny, are ſome of them Banished and others confined.

5. The ſecond *Seſſion* of this laſt Parliament ſitting in *May* 1662. by their firſt *Act*, they reſtore and reeſtablish Prelacy in all it's pretended *Rights*, *Dignities* and *Priviledges*, but in effect, in it's real Uſurpations and Corruptions. And for the better ſetling thereof, and evident declaring to the World, how Eraſtian and Antichriſtian this Woful Government is, both in it's Riſe, Deſigns and Effects, as by this *Act*, the Reſtitution thereof is expreſly founded upon the *King's Supremacy*, *as being an inherent Right in the Crown for the diſpoſal of the external Government of the Church*, So it is alſo declared, that *whatever the King ſhall determine with advice of the Bishops and ſuch of the Clergy as he ſhall nominate, in the externall Government of the Church, ſhall be valid and effectual*, without any other *Proviſo* then that the ſame be *conſiſtent with the Laws of the Realm.* But the Abſolute Complement of all Wickedneſs and the Hight of Uſurpation, above all that ever the Papacy it ſelf aſpired unto, is that which followeth, whereby the King and Parliament, for clearing all ſcruples

which may occurre from former *Acts* and Practices, do reſcind all former *Acts*, by which, the ſole and only power of Juriſdiction within this Church, doth ſtand in the Church, and in the Meetings and Aſſemblies thereof; and all Acts of Parliament and Council, which may be interpreted to have given any Church-power, Juriſdiction, or Government to the Office-bearers of the Church, their reſpective meetings, other then that which acknowledgeth a dependence upon, and ſubordination to the Soveraign Power of the King as ſupream, and is to be regulated and authorized in the exerciſe thereof by the Biſhops, who are to put order to Eccleſiaſtick matters, and to be accountable to the King for their Adminiſtration; And the foreſaid 114 *Act Parl.* 12. *Ia.* 6. whereby the Priviledges, Power and other eſſentiall Cenſures given by God to the ſpirituall Office-bearers in His Church, and warranded by His Word are ratifyed, is even in ſo far and totally caſſed and reſcinded. And that the World may know how preſumptuous and abſurd this Uſurpation is, which cannot be juſtly conceaved without an inſtance of it's effects, we here ſubjoyn that 4 *Act. Seſſ.* 3. of the ſame *Parliament* for the conſtitution of a National Synod, wherein the King is made ſoveraignly and properly to conſtitute this Aſſembly, both as to the Appointment of it's Members Conſtituent, and of it's conſtant Preſident; the abſolute regulation of things there to be propoſed (which are declared to be *only ſuch as He ſhall pleaſe to ſignify*,) the determination and limitation of it's Deciſions, which are to be *agreed to by the Preſident as well as the major part, and providing that they be not contrary to the Prerogative or the Laws of the Realm*, And laſtly, as to the neceſſity

ceſſity of the *King's preſence in perſon or by his Commiſsioner, and of his Ratification and Approbation*, without which no Act or Deed is to be of any force. Now let the World conſider, what he could have done more in the conſtitution and regulation of his own Court of *Exchequer:* And if he hath not done all, as to the conſtitution of this Court, (immediatly depending upon our Lord Jeſus Chriſt and his ſole Authority) which He Himſelf hath done or poſſibly could do; by what warrand or rule, He who is King of Kings will require. We shal not here ſtand to examine theſe Acts according to former Laws, Oaths and Engagements, hereby moſt fearfully violated and contemned; This is a ſtrain of wickedneſs above all that former times could imagine. O! that God would ſpeak to the Authors, but not in his wrath, and as he hath ſet His only Son upon his holy Hill of *Zion*; ſo he would cauſe them to fear His diſpleaſure, that they may yet be wiſe and inſtructed to kiſs the Son, leſt he be angry, and they perish from the way, when his wrath is kindled but a litle. Surely to define, that the ſole Power and Juriſdiction of this Church, doth not ſtand within the ſame, but in ſome thing without beſide our Lord Jeſus; and that the ſame is fountain'd in, and derived from the King; and that all Church-Officers in all Church matters, are accountable to him, who is neither thereto Gifted nor Called, is to ſet the King upon our Lord Jeſus his Throne, and a high derogation from, and reflection upon him, who hes builded the Temple of the Lord & bears the Glory, & ſits and rules both as King & Prieſt upon His Throne; *Who*, more worthy then *Moſes*, *was faithful and perfect as a Son over His own Houſe*; and therefore did

not

not leave His Church deſtitute, of any ſuch neceſſary and proper Officer or Aſſiſter, when neither King nor Prince was ſo much as members thereof; And laſtly, it's a plain Perverſion in ſtead of Performance of that Promiſe made to the Church, *Iſai. 49. ver. 23. That Kings ſhould be it's Nurſing Fathers*, where in place of Dominion, there Submiſſion is expreſly injoyned, *they ſhall bow down to thee with their face toward the Earth.* We know that this empty Notion of *External Policy*, is vainly pretended to colour the matter: But ſeeing whatſoever can be meaned by external Policy, even as to outward decency and Order, is either particularly determined by our Lord Himſelf and His bleſſed Apoſtles, or under the definition of General and Evident Rules left unto the Churches arbitriment, whereby the King (being no Church-Officer) upon a double account is clearly excluded; and ſeing that under the pretence of this External Policy, the greateſt & moſt ſuperſtitious Novations in the pure Worship of God, and the greateſt Corruptions and Abuſes both by the appointment of new Officers in the Church of Chriſt without His own warrand, and the uſurping and perverting of the Power of Spiritual Cenſures in the Government of Gods Houſe, may be and have been introduced, we doubt not, but all rational men do ſee the deluſions of ſuch vain pretences. And certainly ſince the *Act* it ſelf doth proceed, to grant the King all the *Power in & over both Eccleſiaſtick Cauſes & Perſons* that can be imagined, it would be but ordinary ingenuity in our Adverſaries, plainly to aſſert, that the King is the Great Apoſtle and Vicegerent of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in and over His Houſe: Although they ſhould not only appear herein deſtitute of

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any better warrand, then this present *Act of Parliament*; But most plainly to justify al the Usurpation, that ever the Pope or Antichrist, can be charged with.

6. Bishops being thus restored and admitted to sit and give voice in Parliament, this Mixture and the Power of their Antichristian Spirit doth quickly exert it self: And without regard to the nature of Parliamentary and all Civil Powers (which are no wayes conversant about things and perswasions only Internal, and meerly appertaining to conscience or to the Word of God, which is the ground and warrant, upon which all Power whatsoever being only Declarative, in matters of this kind, ought certainly and expresly to proceed,) They procure a Dogmatick Act declaring these Positions, *That it is lawful to Subjects for Reformation or necessary Self-defence to enter into Leagues, or take up Arms against the King*, and such like, to be Rebellious and treasonable; and particularly *that the National Covenant as it was explained in the Year* 1638, *and the Solemn League and Covenant were, and are in* THEMSELVES UNLAWFUL OATHS, *and were taken by, and imposed upon the Subjects of this Kingdom, against the Fundamental Law and Liberties thereof.* (Which neither they nor all the invention of Hell, is able to condescend upon or instruct) And therefore, out of the plenitude of their power, (as much as ever any Pope pretended to) they loose the Obligation of Conscience, and free the Subjects of their Engagements: And further, to compleat this their Wickedness, they appoint a Declaration of this

High

High Impiety, to be ſigned by all in Publick Truſt, that none may be admitted to, or exercethe ſame, except they receave in their right hand or in their foreheads this their accurſed mark. *O! Lord our God, thow art of purer eyes then to behold Evil, and canſt not look on Iniquity: VVherefore lookſt thou on them that deal treacherouſly, and holds thy tongue when the wicked devour the man that is more righteous then he? Yet ſurely O Lord thou haſt ordained them for judgement, and O mighty God, thou haſt eſtabished them for correction.* Can the World beleeve, that a whole Nation in it's moſt National Capacity, including King, Parliament and the body of the People, ſhould after moſt clear and evident convictions, and ſignal Manifeſtations of the Glory and preſence of God, in the moſt important and holy Concernments of all Truth and Righteouſneſs, moſt ſolemnly (as it were) to day engage themſelves by Oath unto the Lord, and to morrow, without ſo much as ſeriouſly remembring Gods Holineſs and terrible Jealouſy, either againſt theſe that break His Holy Covenant, or wickedly profane His Name by taking it in vain, at once without any reaſon or probable motive rendered therefore, deſpiſe, contemn and trample the ſame Holy and Great Engagements under foot, and urge others to the like Wickedneſs and Impiety? If this tend unto, or ſhall prove effectuall for *the preſervation of his Majeſty's Perſon, Authority & Government*, as this *Act* and ſtatute is entituled, then ſurely he may break the Covenant and proſper. But this is not all, for theſe men ſuppoſing by this Act, that the Work of God was utterly ſubverted and overthrown, they

provide

provide alſo againſt the fears of it's revival, by declaring *all ſuch Gatherings and Petitions that were uſed in the beginning of the late Troubles*, though the ſame be no other then that common priviledge of all men, which Slavery it ſelf (much leſs Subjection) doth not take away, *to be unlawful and ſeditious*: And furder do ſtatute and enact *that no perſon by VVriting, Printing, Praying, Preaching, or malicious and adviſed ſpeaking, expreſs or publish any words or ſentences to ſtirre up the People to the diſlike of the Kings Prerogative and Supremacy, or of the Government of the Church by Bishops, or juſtify any of the deeds, Actings or things declared againſt by this preſent Act.* By all which, not only the Security of Religion and the Liberty of the Subject is utterly ſubverted, by prohibiting of the lawful, moſt neceſſary and only means of aſſerting thereof, in caſe the ſame ſhould be invaded; but we are alſo denyed and prohibited the licenſe, ſo much as to mourn and pour out our prayer unto God, either apart or one with another, for all this Horrid Apoſtacy, or our heavy perſecutions for non-complyance therewith; So that the moſt innocent of all remedies, Petitioning and Prayer, and alſo the meaneſt and laſt of all comforts, even the Tears and Complaints of the afflicted, (which God and Nature hath hitherto placed beyond the reach of all cruelty) are now ſeverely forbidden.

7. By the *third Act* of the ſame *Seſſion of Parliament*, under the pretence that Patronages, being the juſt & proper right of theſe concerned, were unjuſtly abolished in the Year 1649. notwithſtanding that the ſame

were

were only, in ſo far as they were burthenſome to the Church of God, and obſtructive to the Work of the Goſpel, then abrogated; and in lieu thereof the civil Intereſt and benefit of Patrons more amply extended and ſecured; yet on purpoſe that they might caſt out and remove ſuch faithful Miniſters, as notwithſtanding all the wicked Acts and Practiſes then made for the overthrow of the Work of God and Presbyterial Government, might have by their ſtedfaſtneſs (at leaſt) put ſome demur to this impetuous Defection, they ſtatute and ordain, *that all Miniſters who entered to the Cure of any Parish, in or ſince the Year* 1649. *have no right unto, nor ſhall poſſeſs any benefice or ſtipend for that ſame current Year* 1662. *or any Year following, but decern their Kirks and Benefices* Ipſo Jure *vacant*: And then under pretext of favour, they clearly diſcover the deſign and ſnare intended, in declaring that *every ſuch Miniſter who ſhall obtain the Patron's Preſentation and Biſhop's Collation, betwixt and the twenty of September then nixt following, ſhall have right to his Church and Benefice, as if at his entry he had been lawfully preſented, otherwiſe the Act to ſtand in force againſt him.* By which means this ſame Parliament in their firſt Seſſion having enacted, that no Patron ſhould preſent, or Miniſter Preſented have right, except they ſhould firſt take the Oath of Supremacy, the very body and ſtrength of the Miniſtry of this Church were reduced to this ſore *Dilemma*, either to take that Oath of Supremacy, which both by expreſs Acts and clear Practiſes, was now declared and interpreted to be the very height of Papacy, and root of Prelacy, and by accepting of Collation, to acknowledge

acknowledge these perfidious aud usurping Prelates; or to lose and be cast out of the Ministry, likeas, *de facto* 300. aud upwards of the faithful Ministers, were by vertue of this Act shortly thereafter outed and violented from the Exercise of their Ministry.

8. The Prelates not having attained their full intent by this last Act, do further prosecut their design of casting out, and incapacitating all such as either remained or might rise up to oppose their wickedness, and therefore they procure, 1. an Act of Parliament without either Citation or Reason alleaged or rendered, against the faithful Ministers of *Edinburgh*, (who, being eminent lights, were also from the advantage of the place apprehended as more eminent opposers,) discharging them of their Ministry, and ordaining them to remove themselves and families out of the City, after the 8 of *September* then next to come. 2. By the fourth Act of the same second Session of Parliament, to the effect that not one faithful Minister might remain to witness against their Defection, they statut and enact, *that all Ministers, for Testifying their acknowledgement of, and complyance with the present Government by Prelates, keep and observe the Bishops Visitations and Diocesian Assemblies, and be assistant to them in all Acts of Church Discipline as they shall be required, under the pain for the first fault of Suspension from Office and Benefice, and of Deposition if they should not amend.* We are not here to redargue such lukewarm Newters, as, by the subtilty of a vain distinction deceaving & being deceaved, under the pretence of innocent submission, do actually Assist, Par-

take, and Comply with that wicked Prelacy, which they are ſworn to Extirpat; and at beſt, can only pretend to keep the Covenant by that *deteſtable Neutrality*, which they have therein abjured; Their growing Backſliding will quickly declare and free them of this imputation of Neutrality. Our regrate is for the faithfull, who are thus by the Perjury and violence of ſuch who of all men ought moſt to patronize them, not only outed of the Miniſtry by Deprivation from Benefice or ſtipend, but declared by a Parliament, a Civil Court, depoſable from their Spiritual Office, as inconſiſtently and abſurdly as if the ſame Secular perſons, who were authors thereof, had by the ſame Act ſtept into their pulpits. 3. By the ſame laſt Act, in imitation of *Julian* the Apoſtat, who found not a more effectual and Devillish invention for ſuppreſſing & deſtroying Chriſtianity then the ſhutting up of their Schools and Colledges for learning, they ordain for the poyſoning of all the ſprings and fountains thereof, that none teach or rule in an Univerſity or Colledge, except they both take the Oath of Supremacy, and ſubmit to, & own the Government of Prelacy, & that none be permitted to teach any School, or to be a Pædagogue to Children without the Prelates licence. 4. By the ſame Act, they not only prohibit any to Preach in publick or in families without the Prelats licence; but advancing & purſuing their malice & perſecution unto theſe very Sanctuaries of reſt & refuge, which even in former times, (when the proud were called happy, & ſuch as wrought wickedneſs were ſet up, yea they that tempted God were delivered,) the Lord did provide and reſerve for his Own, wherein they that feared him, and thought upon his Name, ſpoke often one to another, and

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the Lord hearkened and heard it; they under the pretence, leſt the People ſhould thereby be alienat from their *Lawful Paſtors* (as they call them) who in effect are Wolves and Thieves, diſcharge all Private Meetings in houſes for Religious Exerciſes, which might tend to the prejudice of the publick Worship in Churches: Under which qualification, all Chriſtian Fellowship and Society, amongſt ſuch who cannot overcome their juſt averſion from theſe Churches and publick Meetings, which theſe Apoſtat Prelats have prophaned and polluted, and whereunto they have wickedly intruded, are prohibited and reproached.

9. By a Proclamation emitted this ſecond Seſſion of Parliament, they again enjoin the obſervance of that Anniverſary Holy Day, the 29 of *May*, *even the Moneth and Day which they had deviſed of their own heart for a feaſt unto the People*: And to the effect they might the more infallibly attain their purpoſe of Outing all faithfull Miniſters, they ſubjoin the certification of *Deprivation of Benefice*, or Stipend, againſt all ſuch who ſhould not, (becauſe in conſcience could not) obſerve it, like as *de facto*, ſeveralls, who could not in conſcience ſatisfy themſelves either as to the Authority or Reaſon of the appointment, are therefore without Citation or hearing, Outed of their Benefices and Stipends for that Year; and the ſame either immediatly ingathered by the common Collector, or gifted to ſome other.

10. In the ſame Seſſion of Parliament, pretending that the whole Land, (a few only excepted,) were notourly and heinouſly involved in the crimes of Treaſon and Leſe-Majeſty, through no other cauſe nor occaſion,

caſion, then our moſt Neceſſary, Righteous, and Lawful entering into the Solemn League & Covenant, and proſecuting the holy ends theirof, once ſo ſignally owned and countenanced by the Lord, and ſo fully Authorized by all the Law & Security that can be imagined (for, as for the English Uſurpation, few were guilty of Complyance therewith, who were not alſo moſt forward in this Apoſtacy, and the very vileſt and worſt of ſuch had been declared an honeſt man by an expreſs and particular Act of the ſame Parliament) they appoint a packed cloſe Committee, wherein the generality of the faithfull to the number of about 800, (not adding a hundred more who by private reſentment or upon ſome other prejudice were liſted in this roll) without citation or any cauſe ſignifyed, or any manner of tryal taken, were moſt arbitrarily Fined, and for the moſt part in ſuch pecuniary mulcts and ſumms as it pleaſed the malicious ſuggeſtions of the delators to impoſe, and in many particulars ſo abſurdly, the ſometimes the ſame perſon was found twice fined under divers ſtiles in diverſe Shires, and others were left blanck either in the Name or Surname, who might be filled up either for one perſon or another, as the beſt conjecture should determine; and others were fined, who were dead long before, or were Infants, and Minors under age, and others who to this day could never be found. If this be the righteous judgement which the Lord doth require, let the world declare. Surely this Act is ſuch as hath no precedent nor fellow, except that other Act of *Billeting*, whereof, as the Power and Intereſt of ſome perſons againſt whom it was intended have by an after Act ſufficiently diſcovered it's Irregularity and abſurdity; ſo until the like diſcovery as to other Acts may be obtained, it may evidently lye-

ly enough declare what manner of Power and Reason did over-rule this Parliament: But these two Acts being past, the Parliament proceed to declare by their Act of *Indemnity* the Kings special Grace and Goodness, in pardoning such whom only the Parliaments own Apostacy, and unparalelled Rebellion against the God of Heaven, made criminal, excepting for the most part only such who were most Innocent.

11. This Session of Parliament being ended, the Council go about the execution of the Acts therein concluded, especially against the Ministers not obtaining Presentations, and by their Act and Proclamation at *Glasgow* emitted, the 1. day of *October* 1662. they command all such Ministers to remove themselves forth of their respective Parishes, betwixt and the --- day of *November* then nixt ensueing, discharging them thereafter to exercise any part of their Ministerial Function within the same: what and how great the iniquity and rigor of this Act is, we will not stand to declare. Certainly, he who commanded his Apostles to *pray that their flight might not be in the Winter*, did regard and doth remember the great distress which many poor families then sustained, who, being deprived of livelyhood, turned out of doors, indigent and very numerous, might according to the cruelty of their adversaries have starved and perished. We need not here insist upon the particular steps, whereby the restless jealousies of these wicked Prelats, did urge forward and advance this Prosecution, by their impetrating of reiterate Acts and Proclamations, until they obtained that last Act and Proclamation, concluding and adjudging all these Ministers unto such a nice and impossible Confinement, which not only the necessi-

gy of humane frailty, and it's dependance upon many indiſpenſible conveniences, do render more rigid & intollerable, then the moſt ſtrict impriſonment, and the moſt barbarous banishment; but alſo the moſt curious skill of the moſt exact Geographer can ſcarce make practicable: It is enough for us to note, that having, by a poſterior Proclamation, extended the ſame pains unto all Miniſters outed upon whatſoever ground of non conformity to this preſent courſe of Apoſtacy, (in which condition all the faithfull Miniſters in *Scotland* a very few excepted, are included,) there were never ſo many Innocent and Faithful Miniſters, in any Chriſtian Church at once and for ſuch a cauſe reduced to ſuch hardships, fears, and uncertainties, and that by ſuch perſons, who not only are as deeply & ſolemnly ſworn and engaged as they are, in the ſame Cauſe and Covenant, for which they ſuffer, but by ſuch who once (ſome of them at leaſt) appeared to have had the zeal of God, ſo that if it had been poſſible they would have pluckt out their own eyes, and have given them to ſuch, whoſe Enemies they now are, only becauſe they tell them the truth: Such is the fearful ſnare & prevailing Power of Apoſtacy; but God ſeeth & telleth their wanderings, and putteth all their tears into his bottle. Having, becauſe of the neceſſary connection of theſe things, thus repreſented them together, we return to the third Seſſion of the ſame Parliament, and its Acts, Where

12. By the firſt Act thereof, they ratify the former Act anent Miniſters, who entered in, and ſince the year 1649, and ſuch who keep not the Dioceſian meetings, and do recommend to the privy Council the *effectual execution theirof, and to call all ſuch Miniſters, who dare to preach in contempt of that Act to be*

*punished*

*punished as Seditious persons, and also to be carefull to remove and dispossess such who should be Suspended or Deprived for non-conforming, declaring that if they thereafter presume to exercise their Ministry, they should be punished as Seditious persons.* Thus, in the height of Perfidy and Violence, men under the pretext of abused and perverted Authority, proceed to dare and presume against God, their own Consciences & all their Sacred & Indissoluble Oaths and Engagements, and to persecut such for preaching, who, standing stedfast therein, and having a dispensation of the Gospel committed unto them, by him who is King in Zion & higher then the Kings of the Earth, may & out to contemn the menaces of vain Man, in regard of that heavy and severe *woe* sounding in their ears, if they preach not the Gospel; But the Act doth furder proceed, to require of all, *a due Acknowledgement of, and hearty Complyance with the Kings Government Ecclesiastical and Civil*, and therefore to ordain and declare, *that who ever shal ordinarily and wilfully withdraw and absent themselves, from the ordinary Meetings for divine VVorshp in their own Churches on the Lords day, whether upon the account of Popery or other dissaffection, shall incurre, each Heritor the loss of a fourth of that years rent, each Yeoman the loss of a fourth (or under) of his moveables, each Burgess the loss of his Liberty and Burgeship with the fourth of his moveables*, and concludes with a reference to the Council *for further punishment, & more effectual execution*, likeas in order hereunto the Council by several

Proclamations ſince, have ſo much intended the ſeverity of this Act, that every Parish in ſtead of having a Lawfull Paſtor, is now inſlaved to a Graceleſs, Violent Hireling as it's Lord and Maſter, and to the extortion of Souldiours appointed for his Executioners and Exactors.

We ſhall not here debate the Lawfulneſs or Unlawfulneſs of the Obedience here required, only for the vindication of many thouſands of the Faithful, who by their ſufferings have born Teſtimony againſt this Act; we add, 1. that waving the ordinary & captious maner of propoſing the queſtion in the terms of *Hearing or not Hearing*, which ſtrickly taken, are not the ſubject thereof, we are aſſured that none ſeriouſly pondering the obligation of the Oath of God, *ſincerely, really & conſtantly all the dayes of our life to endeavour the extirpation of Prelats and their dependants*, but they will acknowledge, that the owning of, and ſubmitting to the Apoſtat Curats according to this Act as our Miniſters, is moſt diametrally oppoſit thereto: Can we Lawfully Own ſuch whom we are bound to abhorre? Or Submit to ſuch whom we are bound to extirpate? Surely this were to rebuild what we have deſtroyed. 2. That though ſome nimble Sophiſters, who fear not after vowes to make inquiry, can and have ſwallowed both Owning and Submitting as not repugnant to the duty of Extirpation, yet, ſeing the direct contrary thereof, is by the terms themſelves very ſignificantly imported, and that theſe terms were for this expreſs cauſe and deſign particularly elected and made choice of by the Parliament, for ranverſing of the Obligation of the holy Covenant, no ſober man will be tempted by their deluſion to think, either that Owning and

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Submitting signify no more then Simple Submitting, or that that Active Assenting and Complying Submission here mean'd, is no more then that Stil and Passive Submission, unto which men by the force of inevitable necessity, and against their wills are oftentimes constrained. 3. That whoever pretending to enter into the Ministery, doth presumptuously contemn and despise the sacred Rule and Order of Entry appointed by the great Shepherd, cannot be reputed to enter by the *Door*, nor to be so much as Externally by him Sent or Called: But such as do enter by gross and palpable Perjury and wicked Violence and Intrusion, do without question contemn the sacred Rule and Order of Gods Word, so that to admit such to be so much as Externally Called were to make the God of Order the Author of Confusion, and him who is the Truth, the favourer of Perjury. We know that this notion of an *External Call* is conceited by many, to be no other thing, then the performance of such Rites and Solemnities, as are prescribed to the Admission of a Minister, done by such a Person or Persons, on whom the like hath been performed; but seing that by many instances of gross Disorder and Violence, (which are obvious for any man to suppose,) many absurdities might be hence inferred, and that to be Externally Called according both to the meaning of Truth, and the import of the words is, *to have such a Visible Evidence of the Call of Iesus Christ, as in Reason and Charity doth oblige all men to receave the person so called, as truely sent*; Certainly if any Person force his own Entry into the Ministry by open and profane Contempt of the Rule and Order given by our Lord Jesus, he doth in like maner as palpably disprove any Evidence of a Lawful

Call, which he can pretend to, & no man is obliged either to Beleeve him to be Called or to Receave him as Sent. Which things are ſo evident in themſelves, that whoever denyeth them, is obliged by the ſame conſequence to affirm, that if *Simon Magus* had in his horrid wickedneſs purchaſed the Apoſtleship by money, the Chriſtian World had been bound to Receave him as an Apoſtle. 4. Though we are not to lanch out into theſe depths, how the Soveraignity of Divine Providence hath ſuffered Churches to fall away into Apoſtacy, and again recovered them, and if during theſe times of Apoſtacy a ſtanding Miniſtry ſtill continued, or how long it did; if not, what way it was revived and raiſed up, in which caſes true Faith in Jeſus Chriſt which is the ſubſtance of all, and a conſcientious walking according to the meaſure of the times, doth certainly purge and ſuſtain many things otherwiſe chargeable with Informality; Yet of this we are confident, that it hath alwayes been both the ſin and miſery of all Apoſtatizing Churches, that they have not reſiſted the beginnings of Defection, and when the Authors theirof did prove incorrigible, though formerly Miniſters, that they did not ſeparate from them, and account them as Heathens and Publicans, which courſe, if duely and zealouſly obſerved, had undoubtedly put a great ſtop and hinderance to the riſe and wicked Uſurpation of Antichriſt, all whoſe malice and violence without the deluſion and complyance of ſuch who ought to have reſiſted them, had never proven ſo effectual. 5. That a man may be a Miniſter, and yet not a Miniſter unto all, ſo as to oblige them to receave him as ſent to them, which may be intuitively underſtood beyond the light and power of any demonſtration, if we but ſuppoſe the caſe of a par-

particular Congregation, living under, and acknowledging their own lawful Paſtor, & that amongſtſuch, a few violent perſons ariſing, bring in another Miniſter by plain force, and caſt out their lawful Paſtor, and if it be ſincerely reſolved what the faithful in that Church are then obliged to do, ſurely none will think that they ought inſtantly to relinquish their true Paſtor, & own & ſubmit to this Intruder, but on the contrare all muſt grant that they ought to adhere to their lawful Miniſter & not only diſcountenance & withdraw from the Uſurper, but by all lawful means endeavour his Ejection; which caſe, if but tranſlated to the preſent condition of this oppreſſed Church under uſurping Prelates, will with the ſame evidence reſolve the queſtion. 6. That whatever conſtruction or interpretation many to whom it is given to believe but not to ſuffer, may put upon their hearingof the Curates, as to the inferring or not inferring their owning of, and ſubmiſſion to their Miniſtry, yet this is certain, that as it is the moſt probable argument and preſumption of owning that can be alleadged, ſo is it that which this Act requires for to teſtify both a due acknowledgement of, and hearty complyance with the preſent Government by Prelates, and as an undoubted evidence of the peoples giving their cheerful Concurrence, Countenance and Aſſiſtance to the Curates. 7. That ſeing hearing of the Curates by the acknowledgement of all the more ingenuous is not a duty to which they are moved by conſcience, but rather uſed by them as a thing though lawful yet arbitrary, for the eviting a greater inconvenience, & ſeing that this Act and every article theirof is undoubtedly groſs and wicked Perfidy againſt God and his holy Covenant, commanding the diſowning and relinquishing the Lords Miniſtry whom we are bound to main-

maintain, and the owning and encouraging by hearing ſuch vile Intruders as we are bound to extirpate, thereby deſigning expreſly to involve all as much as is poſſible in the ſame Perfidy, and to looſe the former obligation of the Oath of God; whatever may be ſaid in the caſe abſtractly conſidered, yet we are perſwaded that being thus ſtated, not hearing becomes a caſe of Teſtimony, and an indiſpenſible duty. 8. That as it is the ſin and miſery of all declining times that the zeall of God is at the beſt rather wished for as a Bleſſing, then minded as a Duty; ſo we are confident that the true and right zeall of God should, and would not only inſpire all with an unanimous Averſion againſt the the profane intruding Curates, but animate us as one man to drive away theſe Wolves and Thieves, and to eradicate theſe plants which our heavenly Father never planted. 9. That though the Curates could inſtruct and juſtify their External Call, yet ſuch are their lies & lightneſs by which they cauſe the people to erre, & the viſible truth of their vile Perjury and Prophanity, which they preach and practiſe, that all ſerious obſervers may eaſily diſcover them to be inwardly ravening Wolves under the sheeps cloathing of an pretended external call, of whom in conſcience of our Lords command all ought and should beware. 10. That whatever may be the difference in theſe things even amongſt the faithful, yet all muſt aggree and acknowledge that the violent preſſing of ſuch to hear, who upon ſuch probable grounds from a tender ſenſe of conſcience do only plead that Chriſtian, innocent, & moſt ſafe priviledge of a peaceable forbearance, is not only contrare to that ample promiſe of *Indulgence to tender conſciences* made and declared by the King from *Breda* before his return 1660. but is in effect to violent all conſcience, and

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the hight of oppreſſion and rigor. 11. That as the grounds laid down may and do ſufficiently anſwer all objections, ſo therefrom may be ſhortly cleared, firſt, that common and ordinary Sophiſm, that hearing and obſerving the Ordinances is an indiſpenſible Duty from which neither the wickedneſs nor frailty of the Miniſter doth looſe: But as it may be eaſily anſwered, that this when acknowledged doth rather ſuppoſe then inferre the complexed lawfulneſs of hearing Curates as Miniſters, and that their Miniſtry is the Lords Ordinance, which is plainly denyed; ſo we are alſo to conſider, that ſuch duties and performances are only acceptable unto the Lord, ſpecially in the matters of his Worship which are intirely ſound and wholly agreeable unto his will, truely done, in ſpirit, and altogether performed in truth, *Nam bonum eſt ex omni cauſa*, hence it is that the prophanity and wickedneſs even of the Lords lawful Prieſts, letbe the Perjury and Profanity of wicked Intruders, have not only cauſed the People to abhorre the offering of the Lord to the Prieſts heavy charge, but evē the Lord himſelfe to abhorre his ſanctuary, & to account incenſe an abomination, ſo that he cannot away with the calling of aſſemblies, it is iniquity even the ſolemn meeting; ſhall it then be accounted iniquity for to hate that which the Lord hates, and withdraw from that which he hath forſaken? Ought we not rather to diſtinguish a holy abhorring from a profane contempt, though both of them proceed from the Curats ſin, and in the ſenſe thereof rather wish for, and withdraw with *Jeremiah* unto a cottage in the wilderneſs, that there we may mourn for all theſe abominations; ſurely were there no more in this matter but that Holines becomes the houſe of God for ever, and

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men of clean hands and a pure lip ought to draw near and turn unto him, it were ſufficient to juſtify the Lords People, who in drawing near to God, cannot in conſcience either regard or make uſe of the mouths and hands of theſe Apoſtates which are continually filled with lyes and violence, as either ſent by the Lord to them-ward, or to be imployed by them to God-ward, 2. From theſe grounds may be cleared that grand objection from our Lords command to the People of the Jewes, *Matth.* 23. *ver.* 2, 3. ſaying, *The Scribes and Phariſees ſit in Moſes ſeat, therefore whatſoever they bid yow obſerve, that obſerve and do.* Whence ſome inferre that even ſuch as without a title do uſurp the office of teachers ought notwithſtanding to be both heard and obſerved; but it is anſwered, 1. That it neither appeareth from the words nor yet from any other Record, that the Scribes and Phariſees did by intruſion poſſeſs themſelves of *Moſes* chair, but on the contrare, as by *Moſes* chair is only underſtood the Office of teaching, reſolving and judging according to *Moſes* law, to which although the Levites were appropriate, yet is there is no ſuch determination thereanent in the Word of God, as can by any manner of inference reject the Scribes & Phariſees as intruders, ſo it is more preſumable (that, ſeeing our Lord in that long Legend of evils & woes pronounced againſt them, doth not in the leaſt charge them with Intruſion, but rather acknowledge their Vocation by calling them the Builders) they had thereto law fully attained. 2. As our Lords Words bear no command for the People to hear, but only to obſerve and do what they heard, rather ſuppoſing then allowing that, which though for the time he endeavoured to improve to the beſt advantage, yet afterwards he intended not only to reform but utterly to abolish; & therefore cannot

cannot in reaſon infer a command & duty to hear the Curates; ſo neither our Lords tolerance in this caſe can ſo much as infer it's lawfulneſs, except the caſes were duely ſtated & compared, which if any will rationally do, by firſt ſuppoſing that the Scribes and Phariſees had then lately by groſs Perjury and Violence thruſt out the Lords Teachers & intruded themſelves into the Office, we are bold to affirm that our greateſt adverſaries dare not in this caſe aſſert, that our Lord would ſo much as in the like words here uſed have inſinuat a ſimple toleratiõ

13. Hitherto we have only obſerved the progreſs of theſe Acts that directly tend to the overthrow of Preſbytery, and the erecting of Prelacy, but as by the vileſt of Flatteries and moſt preſumptuous of Uſurpations, Soveraignity is puffed up and exalted to that Supremacy, which is the neceſſary & only foundation of Prelacy; So it is no wonder if both in the righteous Judgement of God, and through the influence of this wicked Prelacy, the ſtay of lawful Authority become a yoke of Tyranny, and that theſe Prelates, who make an abſolute ſurrender of Religion, Conſcience & all Sacred Concernments, for the gratifying, and to the arbitriment of theſe Powers whoſe Creatures they have often Atheiſtically acknowledged themſelves to be, do with the ſame and greater profuſion ſubject both Laws, Liberties, and the Fortunes of others, to the luſt of the ſame Powers, which they may ſo eaſily pervert unto their own eſtabliſhment and advancement: And this indeed is and hath alwayes been that great aggravation of our later Prelacy, rendring the ſame worſe and more intolerable then the Romiſh Hierarchy, which being wholly dependent upon the Pope, another and diſtinct head, and not upon the Civil Power, whoſe intereſts are oftentimes not only

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diſtinct but directly oppoſite, it hath neither that acceſs, nor influence to abuſe Princes; Whereas our Prelates deriving all their Power and Being from the Kings Supremacy by endeavouring for their own better eſtabliſhment to render him incontrollably abſolute over and in all things, they being otherwiſe mean and abject perſons, having the leaſt and almoſt no share nor intereſt in the Commonwealth, and by reaſon of their ill Right and worſe Conſcience in what they do poſſeſs, being alwayes cruelly jealous, have by ſad experience ever inclined the Government unto Tyranny; and as in this late and worſt Cataſtrophe they have more prevailed then ever formerly they did, ſo the following inſtances do more clearly demonſtrate this aſſertion.

We ſhall not here repeat theſe Acts whereby for the better and more eaſy eſtabliſhment of Prelacy then deſigned, this Parliament for it's firſt work under pretence of vindicating & declaring the Kings Juſt Right and Prerogative, did in effect wholly corrupt and innovate the well tempered and firm conſtitution of our Ancient Government, which both all our Ancient Hiſtories and Records, the only evidence whereby fundamental Laws are verifiable, do ſufficiently declare, and the long continuance and endurance thereof, excellently commend. The firſt thing that thereafter occurs, is that Act and offer of fourty thouſand pounds Sterling to the King yearly during his life, whereby in place of that relaxation from theſe burdens which the iniquity of Uſurpers had only from time to time impoſed, a laſting and perpetual Impoſition, by it's continuance fully exequating the exceſs of the former, is entaild upon us, and that for no other end then the complementing of a few Favourites of Prelacy, and the

the maintaining of a Military Force over us, for their & the Prelates ſecurity, & the perſecution & ſlavery of the body of the people oppoſite thereto. The 2. thing is that rigid, irregular & exorbitant Fining which we have already mentioned, clearly & unqueſtionably carried on & executed, by the ſame Authors & for the ſame Deſign. The 3. thing is that *humble tender* made to the King *of our duty and loyalty*, wherby *in recognizance of the Kings prerogative, and in a further acknowledgement of our duty*, the *Parliament* by the 25. *Act*, *Seſſion* 3. do ſubject the Perſons, Fortunes and whole ſtrength of the Kingdom to the Kings pleaſure and arbitrement, in that *humble* (indeed, but alſo blind and inconſiderat) *offer of* 20000 *foot Men*, *and* 2000 *Horſmen ſufficiently armed with* 40 *dayes Proviſion, to be ready upon the Kings call to march to any part of his Dominions for oppoſing whatſoever Invaſion or Inſurrection or for any other ſervice*: Which offer, though poſſibly many do account it but a voluntary and cheerful expreſſion of that readineſs, which our Anceſtors have often witneſſed for the defence of King and Country; yet in effect, if duely conſidered as concluded under the force of a Statute & Act of Parliament, in place of that willingneſs and readineſs alleadged, whereunto our Anceſtors were from time to time determined, by theſe viſible and apparent exigencies of the common concernment which did require it, it will be found no other thing, then an implicite and ſlavish Emancipation of our lives and libertyes, to the arbitrement of the Powers, coloured with the pretext of loyall devotion to lawful Authority. But whatever is herein exorbitant, is without queſtion the proper effect and product of the jealouſy of theſe Apoſtate Prelates, whom the inward diſquiet of an evill conſcience, cauſeth to apprehend terror round

about. The 4. thing, wherein this wicked prelacy hath perverted the Ancient and well conſtitute Government of this Realm, is their procuring, erecting, and exercing the High Commiſſion Court, (without ſo much as the approbation of that Parliament wherein nothing would have been refuſed them, wherein not only Eccleſiaſtick and Civil Juriſdiction are abſurdly confounded, in impowering ſecular perſons to ſuſpend and depoſe, and pretended Church-men and Miniſters to fine, confine and incarcerate, but the *Act.* 131. *Parl.* 8. *Iac.* 6. diſcharging all New Courts not approven in Parliament, directly thereby contraveened; neither will the Catholicon of the Kings omnipotent Prerogative ſalve this breach, in reſpect the ſame Prerogative, now in ſo great vigour, was by the 129 Act of this ſame 8 *Parl Ia.* 6. and almoſt immediatly preceeding the Act alleadged, then alſo recently enacted. But who can conſider the Arbitrary form of Inquiſition and ſummar procedour without any ſhaddow of Legal Proceſs, uſed in the ſame Commiſſion, it's tyranny and unwarrantable exacting of Oaths and ſubſcriptions, with it's new invented, inſolent and affronting punishments more cruell to ingenuous Spirits then death it ſelf, and not be convinced of the groſs and wicked corruption of this State-novelty, or rather monſter? The 5. thing which offers, is the accumulation and in effect the ſuppreſſion of the ordinary Offices of State (the very ſtay and props of regular Government, and the conduits and channells whereby it's refreshing influences are diffuſed) with, and by an extraordinar and ſuperlative power and Office in the ſingle perſon of the Kings Commiſſioner. Certainly as in the multitude of Counſellers there is ſafety, ſo on the other hand no King on earth can rule by ſuch an deputation, who may not as law-

lawfully alienate his Crown: Which devices are all the inventions of these wicked Prelates, who knowing that if the King should either hear, see or act, but by such ears, eyes, & hands as they do assigne unto him, their affairs could not long prosper, do by such exorbitancies endeavour the establishment of their own Tyranny. The 6. thing that occurs is not only the keeping up of a Military Force to the intolerable burden and slavery of this free Nation, in so far as the ordinary and civil manner of Legal Execution, specially for Fines and Ecclesiastical Delinquencies is now committed to, and managed by Military Force and Violence, and thereby the manner of exacting often times rendered more hard and insupportable then the exaction it self; but also that for satisfying the restless jealousies and endless fears of the evil consciences of these Apostate Prelates, more and greater forces under the vain pretence of Forraign fears, which both the then condition and posture of these Wars, the dis-proportion of the Forces themselves, and the disposal of such as before were leavyed did clearly redargue, have been leavyed, and are kept on foot, for maintaining whereof the Publick Revenues are mis-applyed, the Fines, when by the Kings favour long delayed, at length exacted and expended, new Taxations imposed, far exceeding the quantity of any formerly required, and at length the old Assessment the great grievance of the late Usurpation of new superadded, and the poor Country and body of the Land in it's greatest poverty subjected unto, oppressed and harrassed by more injurious extortions then ever the Conquering sword of an Forraign Enemy did heretofore, or can probably license: And all these things clearly intended and carryed on for no other end then the support of this wicked

Prelacy, and it's cruel Bondage and Spiritual Tyranny. We need not mention for an aggravation of theſe violences, that theſe Forces were leavyed by the immediate procurement of the Perfidious Prelates, without the advice of the King's Council, (ever from the beginning, what ever may be the preſent exaltation of Prerogative, reputed to be one with the King, and who both by Place and Intereſt are therein indiſpenſibly concerned) ſeing it is not the leaſt of the iniquities and calamities of theſe times, that the poor Nation and it's greateſt Concernments are by them ſo baſely abandoned. But this we muſt take notice of, that though our Adverſaries, by reaſon of the diſaſtrous Events that lately have happened, do now boaſt of a moſt ſpecial Providence and fore-ſight in all theſe oppreſſions; yet it would be more juſt and rational on their part, to acknowledge that as oppreſſion doth even make a wiſe man mad, ſo to ſee a free Nation, by the Perfidy and Inſolent Domineering of a few up-ſtart Prelates, and the violence of their wicked and ſlavish Favourites, reduced to the condition of a moſt inſupportable and unnatural Conqueſt, both was, is, and ever will be a moſt juſt cauſe and provocation to all ingenuous Spirits and true Patriots, to undertake the aſſerting of their own Liberty, upon the greateſt hazard.

Having thus truly and fully repreſented the exaltation of Prerogative and Prelacy, over and above all things Divine and Humane, Sacred or Profane, we ſhall briefly adde the bitter and cruel fruits and effects of this ſinful and woful Conſpiracy.

1. As the Laws above mentioned, enacted for the overthrow of Presbytery and the Reſtauration of this accurſed Prelacy, ſpecially in ſo far as concerns the Miniſtry,

Ministry, were and are such as did inevitably infer, either a sinfull complyance with that Perjury and Apostacy whereby they were framed, or the endurance of the pains and sufferings thereto subjoyned; so almost the whole faithful Ministers, are thereby first and last not only deprived of their benefices and livelyhood, ejected out of their respective Parishes, and by imminent & visible force incapacitated from the exercise of their Ministry, but some of them are Banished, others Confined, and the remnant reduced to such straits, fears and uncertainties as we have before represented. Then might we have seen the shepherds smitten, and their flocks scattered, our teachers removed into corners, and the Lords Vineyard and Sanctuary laid most desolate: so that in some whole Countreyes and Provinces no preaching was to be heard; nor could the Lords day be otherwise known, then by the sorrowfull remembrance of these blessed enjoyments whereof now we are deprived. Oh! though we had not the zeal & courage of our Ancestors, to have set our selves for the defence of the Gospel, and the maintenance of the Lords Ministers and Ordinances, of which we were so perfidiously and violently spoiled, yet that at least we had remembered, by Prayer and Supplication to God, in the dayes of our afflictions and of our miseries, all the pleasant things that we had in the dayes of old.

2. As this Antichristian spirit did at the first discover it selfe, in that height and rage of Prophanity and all Excess, which suddenly overspread the Land, and did very powerfully and evidently usher in the Restitution of Prelats; so the same hath been ever since by them not only tolerated, but greatly countenanced and encouraged. We do not here mention their grols and

wicked Toleration of Popery, whereby in thir few years it hath increaſed to a greater hight then ever it attained at any time in this Land ſince the Reformation, & that though it hath, & doth appear in that daring confidence, as in its avowed idolatrous Maſſes and ſeminary Prieſts amongſt us, to contemn and deſpiſe theſe ancient and ſtanding Laws whereby ſuch things are often and ſeverely prohibited under the pain of death, yet to this day never one hath been publickly queſtioned and charged upon that account. The thing moſtly to be noticed is, that the only grievance and eyeſore of Prelates is Conſcience and any meaſure of Tenderneſs therein; Thence is it that the moſt innocent and peaceable Forbearance in not hearing Curates and the like, have been perſecute with all rigor, whereas Adulteries, Blaſphemies, Swearing and Drunkenneſs are ſo far from being punished or reſtrained, that the Committers thereof are now only the perſons moſt in fashion and favour; yea it hath been known and can be inſtanced that perſons conveened, and queſtioned, as diſaffected, have either upon the diſcovery or information of their Profanity and diſſoluteneſs, been inſtantly and freely diſmiſſed. Oh that men and Chriſtians do ſo litle remember our Lords own rule to judge and diſcern falſe prophets by their fruits, whereby he hath expreſly ſaid that we shall know them, and that men are ſo far blinded and bewitched, as not to ſee the mighty working of Sathan in this Myſtery of Iniquity, endeavouring under a meer shaddow and pretence of Formality, to root out the Power and Life of Religion and Conſcience, and to reduce this poor Church unto that *Laodicean* luke-warmneſs more deſperate and incurable then coldneſs and death it ſelf.

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3. The faithful Ministers being outed, and the hedge of Presbyterian Government removed, as prophanity and wickedness doth yet more abound, so there came out of this smoak, Locusts upon our Church, even a crue of Curates for Insufficiency, Vanity, Lies, and Prophanity, the very Scorn of Reformation & Scandal of Religion. We need not here adduce particular instances, there is none who in the least observe their doctrine and maner of conversation but will easily acknowledge it: And the certainty of what we here affirm is so obvious unto all, that a particular condescendence would either prove an infinite labour, or too much abridge the extent of so sad a truth. Its true there are some who being convinced, and others who supposing the truth of what is here alleadged, do either doubt or deny these things to be the proper effects of Prelacy, but rather of the licentiousness of men, and such accidents which may be incident to the best constitutions: But if it be considered, 1. That that thing which inseparably and infallibly attends another, may with more then ordinary probability be concluded to depend thereon by a certain influence: 2. That that which is no Ordinance of Jesus Christ, but the visible product of the Devils malice and mens pride and lust, can never be effectual for the establishing of Truth, or promoting of Holiness. 3. That such who not only discover in themselves the foresaid evils, but by open and most notorious Perjury do usurp and invade and hold the Offices they pretend to, must of necessity hate the light because their deeds are evil; it will be very easily granted that Prelacy, Prelates, and their dependants, to whom all these things are clearly applicable, are not only the proper causes and authors of all the Prophanity and Wickedness under

which this poor Land now periſheth; but moſt naturally introductive unto all theſe Superſtitions and Abominations, wherein the Devill by the ſame means did, and hath involved the Chriſtian World under the Roman Papacy.

4. The Prelates and Curates being thus eſtabliſhed, from the ground and warrant of the Acts mentioned, ſeveral Proclamations and Edicts, for the more effectual execution thereof and preſſing conformity thereunto, & for the ſuppreſſing conſcientious adherence to, or (ſo much as is poſſible) the very remembrance of our former Engagements and Covenants, and the holy Miniſtry and Government therein contained, are emitted and publiſhed. We have already mentioned that at *Glaſgow*, and theſe others to the ſame purpoſe which did enſue upon it. The firſt what we here note is, that the Prelates conceaving that their perſecutions already practized and to be practized, might excite the compaſſion of ſome to a charitable ſupply of the afflicted; more to expreſs their cruel malice then really to hinder that, which at beſt is not worth the noticing, under the pretext of *Diſorder*, they procure a *diſcharge of* charitable *Collections*. And now let it be here obſerved once for all, that ſuch is the cruelty, not only of the malice but of the very Acts, procured by the Prelates againſt conſcientious Nonconformiſts, that if they were followed with a ſutable & compleat execution, there ſhould remain no comfort to any abiding ſtedfaſt, other then that of *Arcadius* mercy to the children of Traitors, *that life ſhould be their grief, and death their relief*. There was another Proclamation emitted, at the time of the firſt planting of the Curates, *that all perſons ſhould keep their own Parish Churches, and ſhould not repair to any other ex-*

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*cept in caſe of vacancy, under pain of twenty Shillings Scots toties quoties*, to the effect that ſuch as could not in conſcience attend the Curats Conventicles, might be alſo deprived of any mean of edification, which the opportunity and neighbourhood of a faithful Miniſtry might afford. Then thereafter there is another Edict published againſt *unwarrantable Preaching, Praying, or Hearing*, whereby even ſuch Exerciſes, without which the Communion of Saints can hardly be intertained, are reſtrained & diſcharged; in ſo much, that if a faithful outed Miniſter should repair to any private family, or two or three moe then the Domeſticks of one Houſe be found together, though only imployed in the moſt Chriſtian & edifying Exerciſes of Praying, Lecturing or Godly Conference, their meeting is declared an *unlawfull Conventicle*, and all ſuch as are acceſſory, punishable accordingly. By a fourth Proclamation, men are required *to be aſſiſtent to, and concur with the Curates in the exerciſe of Diſcipline, as they shall be thereto called*, though they be not told either by what warrant, or in what capacity they are to meddle in the Matters of God; for our Adverſaries do both diſown Elders, & allow Deacons no rule. There is a fifth Proclamation *diſcharging all Conventions & meetings whatſoever under the pretence of Religion, which are not allowed by Authority, certifying all perſons acceſſory, that they shall be looked upon and punished by pecuniary and corporall pains, as ſeditious perſons, at the arbitrement of the Council, and eſpecially that the Miniſters exerciſing therein, and their reſetters or countenancers in any ſort, shall be liable unto the higheſt pains due to ſeditious Perſons.* And laſtly, there is a ſixt, *com-*

*manding all Maſters of Families to cauſe their Servants and all their dependents, and all Heritors and Landlords to cauſe their Tennants and Tax-men to obey all Acts of Parliament or Council enjoyning Conformity, and particularly to frequent their Parish Churches, and to ſubmit and conform to the Curates their Miniſtry, or elſe to remove them ſummarly from their ſervice, and eject them out of their Poſſeſſions: And alſo that Heritors take bond and ſecurity of their intrant Tennants in time coming, that they and their Cottars and Servants, ſhall give obedience as ſaid is; and laſtly, that all Magiſtrates of Burghs cauſe their Inhabitants give Bond for the like obedience; for which effects, theſe Heritors and Magiſtrates are warranded to charge them under the pain of Rebellion: And whoſoever ſhall contraveen this Edict is certified and declared lyable to the ſame pains due to the Non-conformiſts themſelves, for whom he hereby is made anſwerable.* This is the laſt Act & Proclamation for Conformity not only in courſe, but even in the utmoſt of extremity and rigor, whereby, as many perſons having a freedom as to their own practiſe, are further urged, contrare to all the rules of charity and moderation, to compel others towards whom they may rather deſire a Chriſtian Forbearance and Indulgence to be uſed; ſo the generality of the Land without any exception whatſoever, are reached, and obliged to all the Complyance with, and Conformity to this wicked Apoſtaſy, and accurſed and abjured Prelacy, whereof they are capable, and that under ſuch Pains, as if

generally

generally incur'd and execute, ſhould infallibly reduce the Land to utter Deſolation and confuſion. But the Lord heareth and regardeth, and Oh that men would alſo hear the voice of this poor Church, that bewaileth her ſelf and ſpreadeth out her hands, ſaying, *VVoe is mè now, for my ſoul is weary becauſe of Murtherers.*

5. As we have obſerved the Tyranny and Illegality of the *High Commiſſion* granted for executing theſe Eccleſiaſtick Acts and Edicts, both in it's Conſtitution and Procedor, ſo we do furder obſerve that whatever Novelties and Extravagancies the *Commiſſion* it ſelf contain, yet the Practiſes of the Court, having no other Precedent in the Chriſtian World, ſave that of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, do far exceed them. For 1. as perſons are brought before them, either by Seiſure or ſummar Citation without any cauſe ſignified, but to anſwer *ſuper inquirendis*, contrary to an expreſs ſtanding Law *Iac. 6. Parl. 10. cap. 13. 1585.* which was alſo enacted when the Kings Prerogative was fresh and in full vigor; ſo at their Compearance, they have neither Libel nor Accuſer, but are conſtrained inſtantly to make anſwer to whatſoever queſtion the arbitriment of the Archprelat pleaſeth to demand. 2. As there is no time for advice permitted, ſo neither are lawful Defences receaved or admitted; but if any perſon do offer to propone any matter of that kind, he is required firſt to take the Oath of Supremacy, or ſome ſuch Engagement or Subſcription which they are aſſured he wil refuſe. Thus a Gentleman of the Name of *Porterfield*, being conveened before them, and queſtioned for not owning the Curate, he anſwers, that his not hearing the Curate, could import no diſaffection, nor bring him

him under the compaſs of the Law, becauſe the Curate had calumniated him by ſuch vile opprobries & reproaches, as were both ſcandalous in a Miniſter, and juſt ground of reſentment to any ingenuous Spirit, as he was able to prove by ſufficient witneſſes: This the Court having ſuſtained as relevant, and the Gentleman having adduced his witneſſes, and one of them being examined and clearly proving, all further procedor is ſtopped, and he required to take the Oath of Supremacy, which he having refuſed, they ſentence him in a great Pecuniary Fine, and confine his perſon far North, to the Town of *Elgin*. 3. If any perſon conveened do clearly anſwer all their Queſtions & Demands, ſo that he cannot be in that manner reached, then they require him in a moſt Arbitrary way. either to take the Oath of Supremacy or ſome other ſubſcription for obedience to Eccleſiaſtick Lawes, or any other bond or ſecurity they pleaſe to require: In which their Tyranny they are ſo inconſequent, that they neither remember that Lawes are made to be Obeyed and not ſubſcribed, and that Obedience is ſecured by their own ſanction, and not by the Peoples handwriting, nor that the main objection by which they thẽſelves do impugn the Covenant, & whereon the Declaration againſt it, is expreſly founded, is that the ſame was taken by, & impoſed upon the Subjects of this Kingdõ againſt the fundamental laws & liberties of the ſame, which is not more fals if applied to theſe holy Covenants, (which were expreſly founded, both upon the Word of God, & the free conſent of the body of the People, & moſt neceſſarly intended for the glory of God & the defence of Religion & Liberty, which are the foundations of all fundamentals, beſides the acceſſion of both Law & Authority by which they were warranted) then true and evident in

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order to the caſe in hand, it being moſt certain, that whatever may be the extent of the Peoples Surrender under any Conſtitution; for the enforcing of their Obedience or Submiſſion, yet the liberty of Perſuaſion is ſo undoubtedly underſtood to be reſerved, that it cannot be abridged by any impoſed Oath or Subſcription, without their own conſent. We know the Council hath both the power, and is in uſe to take Bond for keeping the Peace, but this is a practice ſo clearly warranted by Law, and ſo antecedently founded in reaſon and humanity, upon juſt and probable preſumptions, to ſecure the Peace by bond, which they might do by the perſons impriſonment, that the parity is alleaged with as litle reaſon, as the practice controverted is voyd of equity: Notwithſtanding of all which, there is but one courſe before that *Commiſſion-Court*, without mitigation either to Banish, or Fine, or Confine (or both) the perſons refuſing. 4. If any do in his anſwers or demeanor offend, or be diſcovered thereby in the leaſt to be guilty, they proceed to ſentence without any breathing or intermiſſion, wherein they ſo litle obſerve the Warrant of their Power and Commiſſion, that they oftentimes exceed all the proportion either of Law or Reaſon: For verifying whereof, let but the inſtances ſubjoined be conſidered, where we ſhall find perſons 1. *Stigmatized and Banished* for not conforming, which neither their firſt nor ſecond Commiſſion, bearing only Power *to Fine, Confine and Impriſon*, nor the Laws whereupon they could proceed, give warrant to do. We know the firſt Commiſſion that was printed, was afterwards renewed with ſome extenſion & not printed, but though ſome copies thereof in write were ſpread abroad with power to *ſtigmatize and banish*, yet neither

neither doth the Principal contain any ſuch warrant, nor can the extenſion therein made, infer the ſame in any ſort, without admitting that the ſame Court conſiſting of many members conſtituent of the Secret Council, might *Proteus*-like transfigure themſelves into this form in a moment. 2. We shal find men ſentenced not only to Banishment, but to Deportation and Slavery, *viz.* to be carried to *Barbadoes*, where, being poor men and not able to redeem their Liberty, they muſt undoubtedly be ſold; a punishment, which not only the diſproportion of their delinquencies, but the whole tenor of our Laws, and the undoubted Priviledge of Chriſtianity, doth reprobate and condemn. Theſe things duely conſidered and compared, it will be more then evident, that our Oppreſſions and Grievances by reaſon of this Court alone, do far exceed all the preſſures and injuries of that *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, whereupon the *United Provinces* have juſtified and approved their revolt from under the King of *Spain*, to all Proteſtant States and Churches.

6. As theſe Acts and Proclamations are very Wickedneſs; ſo their Execution hath been only Rigor and Cruelty, It were endleſs to enumerate all the diſtreſſes that have hereupon enſued upon particular perſons and Families, unto the impriſonment of many, confinement of ſome, deportation of others to remote *Iſlands*, chaſing of others to ſore and anxious wanderings, & ſcattering of Families unto beggery. Any who can conceave the Wickedneſs and Violence that did prompt the Prelats to the making of theſe Acts and Statutes, the arbitrary Power of the High Commiſſion by which they were enforced, and the rage, violence and rapine that attends Military Force by which they were and are executed, may poſſibly conceave ſome part of theſe

theſe evils; which, leſt the ſtrangeneſs thereof do render altogether improbable to men unacquainted, we ſhall here ſubjoin a few inſtances of many, of the Procedors of the High Commiſſion Court, leaving theſe of Military Force unto a more proper place. The Parish of *Anerum* had been in former times under the bleſſing of *Mr John Livingſton* his Miniſtry, who being banished the Kingdom for no other cauſe then his eminency and ſtedfaſtneſs in the Work of God, and refuſing the Oath of Supremacy, there is obtruded by the Bishop upon them in his place, one *Scot*, an old excommunicate Curate, continuing under that ſentence and in his wickedneſs that procured the ſame, for which cauſe mainly, he is now complemented and rewarded with the acceſſion of this Kirk and Benefice, to two others, which he ſtill brooks & enjoyes, though very far diſtant from this place. This man coming amongſt them, ſuch as feared the Lord, and remembered his Work and Covenant, are ſtirred up in the Zeal of God to teſtify againſt his Intruſion, whom, being a Perſon excommunicate, entering by groſs Perjury, without their conſent, and only ſeeking after the fleece and Benefice, all that love our Lord Jeſus and the proſpering of his pleaſure, were bound to abhor and deteſt: We do not juſtify any exceſs of human paſſion that might here have been admixed with the ſincere zeal of God, which we are certain in it's worſt appearance all men ought rather to excuſe, then therefore condemn that duty, to which not only the People of that Parish, but the whole Church of *Scotland* were and are in a higher meaſure indiſpenſibly obliged in oppoſition to the preſent courſe of Apoſtacy, and for extirpation of the Apoſtat Prelates. However four men of the Parish are conveened before the High Com-

Commiſſion, where being examined they acknowledge, that *Mr Scot* being to preach at *Ancrum* as their Miniſter, they found themſelves preſſed in conſcience to declare to him their dis-ſatisfaction with his entry, and that they were preſent with the reſt of the People which were there at that time. This the Commiſſion, contrary the opinion of the more ſober & moſt knowing amongſt them, take for a confeſſion of guilt, and immediatly proceed to ſentence them, *as contemners of the Ordinances, to be ſcourged through the Town, ſtigmatized with the letter T at the Croſs of Edinburgh, and thereafter impriſoned, and with the firſt Ship to be carried to the Barbadoes Iſlands.* All which was accordingly performed upon them. *Thou judgement is turned into gall, and the fruit of righteouſneſs into hemlock.* But God who ſuſtained his ſervants with that conſtancy & courage, that neither the ſhame nor pain of ſcourging and burning, hindered them openly and audibly to rejoice in the Lord, who counted them worthy to ſuffer for his Name, beholdeth alſo miſchief and ſpite to requite it with his hand. For the ſame alleaged crime, ſhortly thereafter they ſentence two Brothers, married men, to be carried to *Barbadoes*, and their ſiſter, a young woman, to be ſcourged through the Town of *Jedburgh*. As for alleaged conventicling, there is one *Mr Smith*, a Miniſter ſeiſed upon and impriſoned, for no other crime then preaching to, and praying with a few ſecretly aſſembled for fear of the Prelates, in the Name of the Lord, without the leaſt offence objected from any thing there ſpoken; who being brought before the *Commiſſion*, and in his examination and anſwers to the *Biſhop* of *St Andrewes*, calling him only *Sir*, without *Lord* or *Grace*, he is therefore taxed by the *Commiſſioner*, to whom he anſwered very reſpectfully, giving

(giving him his accustomed titles) that he knew he was speaking to *Mr James Sharp* once a Minister as he himself is. Whereupon there is so great offence conceaved, that the *Commissioner* did immediatly ordain him to be carried by the *Town-Hangman* to the *Thieves Hole* and there laid in the Irons, in company with a Furious Fatuous person, who was there loose: An Indignity so great, unusual and insolent, that although He had behaved himself not only rudely in his demeanor, (which is the worst that his Adversaries can charge him with) but had been most flagitious in his life; yet nothing but that Spirit of Spite and Rebellion that rageth Apostats, could prompt Christians to inflict upon one, who had ever carried so much as the Title of a Minister. But because the open Iron-grate, whereby this *Hole* is shut, gave too great access to the charity and compassion of many persons who came to visit him, he is therefore upon the third day thereafter carried up to the *Iron-house* within the *Tolbooth*, & continued in his irons and fetters, and thereafter in close Prison, until by sentence of the same *Commission*, he was banished and confined to *Shetland*, the coldest and wildest of all the *Scots* Islands; where he was to expect no other comfort, then the company of some other faithful men, who for not owning and submitting to the Curats, had been carried there by sentence of the same Court. And as they did thus sentence a Minister for Exercising, so the same Court having conveened before them an honest private man . . . *Black*, for being present at an alleaged Conventicle, but in effect, at the meeting of a few Christians for praying and hearing the Lord's Word, without so much as any other offence pretended; because, according to the example and warrant of the Primitive Christians, he refused to

give his Oath, & thereupon to delate the names of ſuch as he knew to have been preſent, and becauſe he was not liberall in giving *St Andrewes* his titles, the *Commiſſioner* ordaineth him to be ſcourged thorow the Town; although it was well known to the Court, that his information could give very ſmall evidence, and they were convinced, that his refuſal did not flow from contempt of the King's Authority, but meerly and purely from ſcruple of Conſcience. Theſe are a few inſtances of many particulars of this kind which might be alleaged, whereof there is no corner in the whole Countrey, nor Parish almoſt in the Weſt, which cannot give evidence; and therefore we do remitt any more ample confirmation of theſe things, until we have noted a few moe particulars for clearing thereof.

7. As we have obſerved the Wickedneſs of theſe Eccleſiaſtick Laws, and the iniquity and irregularity of the Act of Fining, and the introducing of Execution by Military Force; (a ſervitude unheard of and intolerable in any free Nation) ſo the evils and oppreſſions thereof can ſcarcely be numbered. For 1. Upon pretence of that Proclamation, commanding People to keep their Parish-Churches, and prohibiting the repairing to any other, except in caſe of vacancy under the pain of 20 shillings Scots *toties quoties*, the ſouldiours being diſpoſed upon, to ſuch places which are known to be moſt averſe from this courſe of Apoſtacy, lying at catch for their own advantage, have often taken the opportunity, where there was but one Church in the bounds ſtill enjoying a faithfull Miniſter, and many vacancies about, to go and beſet that Church in the time of Divine Worship to the profane diſturbance thereof: And thereafter either to cauſe call ſome old roll of the Parishioners, and exact the Fine of twenty shil-

shillings Scots of all others without exception, or respect even to the licence contained in the Proclamation it self in case of vacancy, or to require an Oath of every person to know to what Parish they belong, and that at the Church door without permitting them to come forth, until they either give their Oath or pay the Fine, not only with such cursing, swearing and confusion, as would make Infidels amazed to see the Lords day so profaned, by Christians professing the same common Faith; but with such rigor, by taking by force the Bibles or garments from some poor persons, who have not wherewith to pay, and insolent beating and wounding of others to the effusion of blood, as may justify the greatest Barbarity. We need not instance particulars in a truth so universally known. We proceed to another kind of this same violence, practised in other places where Curates are planted; who, to force and compel the people to that complyance with their Ministry, which in conscience they are bound to abhor, cause form lists or rolls of such as keep not the Church, and calling them after sermon, both Men and Women by Name and Surname, they amerciate the absents in such summs and Fines as they please, & for the most part, far exceeding the pains contained in the Act of Parliament; whereupon the Souldiours are immediatly warranted to go and exact the same by quartering. Which Practice is not more unjust in it's illegal and summar procedor, then rigid and exorbitant; both as to the quantity and the maner of exacting it, by reason of their riding and quartering-money (which is therewith exacted) and the other inconveniences which inseparably attend the rapine and violence of profane souldiours. 3. In many places, not contented thus to Fine and Exact, the souldiours, on the Lords day, go to

private houſes, and by plain force compel and drive to the Church all ſuch as they find, and oftentimes do inſolently beat and abuſe perſons who by reaſon of infirmity or ſickneſs are really unable: A practiſe ſo cruel and abſurd, that ſome of themſelves have ſaid, it was our Lord's way to drive buyers and ſellers out of the Temple, but not to drive them into it. 4. As to the exacting and levying of the Parliaments Fines, the ſame was done (by a reference of the *Councill* to the *Commiſſioner*, and his orders thereon) in ſuch an oppreſſive and exorbitant manner as cannot be paralelled. For 1. Parties of horſe being directed to ſeveral Shires, when a party arrived in any Shire, they direct their order to all the perſons therein Fined, intimating to them and every one of them to pay their reſpective Fines, with three ſhillings ſterling *per diem* for every horſe-man in the party, from the day and date of their Order until the Fine be payed, and the payment ſignified to the commander of the Party: By which extortions, many have been compelled to pay more for Quartering then the ſumme and quantity of their Fine; and during the time of theſe oppreſſions, many have computed that the Sheriffdoms of *Air* & *Renfrew*, were compelled to pay upon the accompt of Quarterings, over and above the Fines, betwixt two and three thouſand merks Scots *per diem*. 2. There was no defence nor exemption allowed againſt theſe Quarterings; for whether the perſon fined did liberat himſelf by taking the *Declaration*, or that it was alleaged that he was Minor, or an Infant, or never Charged, or that his Predeceſſor charged was ſince Deceaſed, or that his predeceſſor was never Charged, yea Died before he was fined, or that the perſon quartered on was only Relict of the perſon fined (a poor Widow living upon a mean Joincture,

Joincture) or that the person quartered on had no Relation to the person fined, save that he lived in the house and place which once pertained to him, and which this person lawfully Purchased, even before the other was fined; Yet all was repelled, and no complaint of this rigor and violence could be heard or receaved; but on the contrary the complainer (especially if he refused to take the *Declaration*) was rejected with most insolent reproaches and menaces. 3. That both in the up-lifting of the Fine and exacting of the Qwarterings, the extremity of rigor was used, by dragging some to prison, who either were known altogether indigent and insolvent, or did offer to renounce the Benefit of the *Act* of *Indemnity* (the forfaulture whereof was the alternative and utmost certification for not paymenr of the Fine, contained in the *Act* of *Fining*) or by Plundering, Beating, and Spoiling others without possibility of redress. We need not adduce Particular Instances for the verification of these things, seing they were not done in a corner; But the cry of this violence as it filled the whole Land; so no doubt it also reached uuto the very Heavens, and is entered in to the ears of Him *who hateth violence and loveth righteousness, who saith unto Princes, remove violence and spoil, and execute judgement and justice, take away your exactions from my people.* One thing mainly to be considered is, that as Prelacy is the great cause of all the Sin and Misery that afflicteth us; so was it by the instigation of the same wicked Apostats, that these Fines so long delayed were thus at length rigorously exacted: And that for no other purpose, then the leavying of moe Forces for their security and support, and the better strengthening of their Tyranny. Certainly were it not of the Lord, who, because of our

contempt of his glorious Goſpel, and bleſſed Miniſtry, hath plagued us with ſtupidity, and ſmitten us with madneſs, blindneſs and aſtonishment of heart, to give unto us the reward of our own hands, and to cauſe us to eat the fruit of our doings, it were impoſſible that rational men after the feeling of ſo ſore grievances, and the teaching of ſo many and ſad experiences, should ſtill couch under the burthen and ſubmitt themſelves to the yoke of a few inſignificant Apoſtate Upſtarts, and not rather acquit themſelves like men, by pulling off theſe vizards of Religion, under which they maſk their villanies, and plucking them out of that Sanctuary and great refuge of Loyalty, which they do not more pretend then profane by all their horrid Rebellion againſt God, and their cruell Perſecutions of His faithfull Servants and the Kings true Subjects, which they palliat under this pretext; to the effect that in the righteous and deſerved Punishment of theſe wicked men, both the ſin and Backſliding of the Land might be ſiſted, and the fierce anger of the Lord averted.

This is the wickedneſs and violence of accurſed Prelacy, which though it hath diffuſed it ſelf over the whole Land, and left no corner thereof untouched, yet as the *Weſt* hath been more grievouſly thereby oppreſſed and afflicted, ſo poor *Galloway* in a manner hath been the point in which all it's malice and Tyranny hath been concentred. We need not here ſearch after Particulars, or be curious for the verification thereof; the cries and groans of that afflicted Countrey have filled all mens ears, and the deſolations thereof are obvious to every ones eyes: Nor need we inſiſt to purge their innocency or clear the cauſes of their ſufferings, which were no other then their adherence to their faithfull Miniſters,

Miniſters (though caſten out and rejected by men, yet continuing through the grace of God, to preach amongſt them) and their deteſtation of a crue of unworthy Curates (ſcatterers and devourers, not Paſtors of the flock) thruſt in amongſt them more violently then upon any other part of the Countrey. The thing we have here to obſerve is, that the manner of their perſecution was firſt and laſt by plain *Hoſtile Invaſion.* After which maner *Sir Iames Turner* with his Forces (having twice before been amongſt them) in *March* 1666, with greater power and fury then ever formerly, marcheth againſt them: where being arrived, what exactions, oppreſſions and inſolencies, he and his forces committed by arbitrary fining, plundering, quartering, impriſoning, beating, wounding, binding men like beaſts, chaſing to moors and mountains, and by haraſſing and laying both Parishes and Countrey-ſides almoſt wholly deſolate; the ruine and beggery of ſeveral hundreds of families, and the impoveverishing and great diſtreſs of many others do abundantly teſtify: And yet after all theſe atrocious injuries, by the contrivance and authority of the *Bishop* of *Galloway*, (who ſometimes appeared ſo zealous for the Covenant and Work of God, that, frequently in his adminiſtration of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper to the People of his own Parish, while he was a private Miniſter, when they were ſett at Table and ready to Participate, he cauſed them to renew the Oath of the Covenant, ſubjoining thereto both that ſolemnity and theſe words uſed by *Nehemia*, Chap. 5. 13. when in the like caſe *he did ſhake his lap, and ſaid, ſo God ſhake out every man from his houſe and from his labor, that performeth not this promiſe, even thus be he ſhak-*

*en out and emptied)* by the preſcription, we ſay, of the ſame *Biſhop* and his Synod, theſe poor oppreſſed people, after all theſe exactions, are urged and compelled to ſubſcribe an acknowledgement that *Sir Iames had uſed them civilly and diſcreetly*; whereby they were forced not only to deny common ſenſe, and lay aſide their juſt reſentments, but by this their Subſcription (which might be oppoſed to all their complaints) they were virtually excluded from all hope of redreſs. All which things are not only confirmed by the notoriety of the matter of fact, but are alſo by that grievous and mournfull Paper of their ſufferings, moſt amply cleared and inſtructed. To which though *Sir Iames* hath made an anſwer for his own vindication, yet ſeeing the ſame doth for the moſt part reſolve in a ſimple denyall (which it was eaſy for him to make, having neither accuſer nor contradicter) and he at moſt giveth only an account of, & vindicateth his orders, without ſo much as denying the exceſs, that might have enſued in that military way of execution, (expreſsly waying to anſwer the extortions of theſe parties, which were commiſſionated for civill Fines) any further reply were ſuperfluous.

This poor people having continued and lyen under all theſe miſeries, for the ſpace of ſeven moneths and upward after *Sir Iames* his third Invaſion, and thereby witneſſed not only their very firm & Chriſtian Patience towards God; but alſo given a greater teſtimony of their loyally and ſubmiſſion to the King's commands, then all the flattering and flaunting profeſſions of theſe their adverſaries (who rather then to ſuffer the hundred part of theſe hardships, would curſe both God and their King) will amount to: And knowing by ſad

expe-

experience, that both Separat Petitioning had been by *Sir Iames* insolently rejected, & that Joint Petitioning was by Act of Parliament condemned, and consequently all hope this way being cut off, upon an very Accidental & Indeliberat Occasion, they were stirred up and gave the rise to the actions and commotions following; which was thus.

*Sir Iames* still breathing forth persecutions, upon the 13 of *November* last, ordereth four souldiours, from *Dumfreis* to the Parish of *Dalray* in *Galloway*, to poind a poor old man's goods; and in case they should find none, to seise and apprehend his person, and bring him prisoner to *Dumfries*. The souldiours in prosecution of this order, apprehending the old innocent man, bind him hand and foot like a beast, and lay him bound upon the ground, ready to be carried along. When two or three of his neighbours, commoved with so great an indignity, come and desire the souldiours to loose him, they, in stead of satisfying their desire, suddenly assault the Countrey-men with their swords drawn, and necessitat them to their own defence: Whereupon one of the souldiours being wounded, the other three throw down their Arms, and the poor man is relieved, The Countreymen, having thus accquited themselves against these first aggressors, in prosecution of their own necessary defence, against the violence of 10 or 12 more souldiours, who were oppressing in the same Parish, (whom now they had greater cause to fear then before) upon the morrow thereafter, with the assistance of 6 or 7 whom they joined to themselves, they quietly seise upon and secure them, all of them rendering their Arms, except one who was killed in his resistance. After this, the Countrey being a little hereby alarmed, but most of all determined by their

former ſad experience, that *Sir James* would certainly avenge himſelf of this affront, upon the whole Countrey without diſtinction of free and unfree, and that in fury and rage, as far exceeding his former perſecutions, as the cauſe was different, they gather to the number 54 Horſemen with ſome few Footmen, and inſtantly reſolving upon it, they march towards *Dumfreis*; where upon the 15 of *November* they take *Sir James* priſoner, and diſarm the Souldiours that were with him without harm or violence to any, except the wounding of one man who made more obſtinate reſiſtance. Being thus by the over-ruling hand of Divine Providence, and the force of irreſiſtible neceſſity, more then by any human contrivance, engaged in a buſineſs of this importance beyond all hope of retreat; and conſidering how many in the *Weſt* and els-where, did groan under the yoke of this wicked Prelacy, and did ſuffer by their Tyranny, whom the juſt apprehenſion of that rigour and cruelty, to which the report of what had hapned would enrage the adverſaries againſt all without diſtinction, might perſuade yea neceſſitat to a conjunction, they from *Dumfreis* move towards the *Weſt*. In the mean time, the report being brought to the *Council*, the *Arch-biſhop* Preſiding and over-ruling in it, Lieut. General *Dalzel* is immediatly ordered to march with all the Forces toward *Glaſgow*; which accordingly was done, with more haſt, rage and fury, then if 10000 Infidels had with fire and ſword invaded the Land: And a Proclamation is emitted againſt the *Rebels* (as they called them) riſen in Arms in *Galloway*, *Air*, and other Places of the *Weſt*, (when as at this time there were not 40 Men in the Sheriſdom of *Air*, who had joyned with them,

them) declaring *this Inſurrection to be manifeſt and horrid Rebellion, and therefore charging the perſons acceſſary, to lay down Arms within 24 hours after publication,* without any aſſurance of Indemnity offered, and laſtly, *commanding the whole Subjects to be aſſiſting to the Lieutenant General, and being required by him or others in Authority, to riſe in Arms, and aſſiſt with all their Power, under the Pain of Rebellion.* A Proclamation ſo full of fury and madneſs, not only rendering ſuch as were in Arms deſperate without hope, except in the cruel mercy of the wicked Prelates; But alſo engaging all without diſtinction, either Actively to concur to the deſtroying of theſe poor, innocent and afflicted People, or els to prepare themſelves for ſuffering the ſame pains and punishment, that it may juſtly be wondered at, that even the ſingle motive of this Proclamation, did not procure, to theſe *Galloway*-men, a greater concourſe. But that poor hand-full being come towards the *Weſt*, and ſome huudreds there, (whom partly the like preſſures and fears of worſe, but moſt of all, the ſenſe and remembrance of the indiſpenſible obligation of the Holy Covenant, for mutual ſympathy and defence, and our uttermoſt endeavours all the dayes of our lives to proſecute the great and bleſſed Ends therof, did thereto determine) having, in the ſincerity and ſimplicity of their hearts, joined themſelves to that company, moſt harmleſly and inoffenſively, without the leaſt violence or exaction done to any, they march through the Countrey until they come to *Lanerk*. Where, upon the conſideration of the Lord's wrath, imminent upon the whole Land by reaſon of breach of Covenant,

and

and the many horrid Sins thereon enſuing, and the apprehenſion of His holy diſpleaſure yet continuing, (whereof, by many viſible and afflicting ſigns and tokens, they were moſt ſadly convinced) as men reduced to the laſt extremity and in great diſtreſs (after the example of *Nehemiah* and the *Iewes*, *Neh. chap.* 9, & 10. in the like caſe) they reſolve and do renew the *Solemn League and Covenant:* That (at leaſt) by this Action they might bear Teſtimony both to the oppreſſed Cauſe and Truth of God and their own innocency. From *Lanerk* upon the 26 of *November* they march to *Bathgate*, and the morrow thereafter to *Colington*, a place about two miles diſtant from *Edinburgh.* That ſame night *Lieut. Gen. Dalzel* coming to *Calder*, there is a *Ceſſation* agreed to betwixt them for that night, and until, upon the morrow, their grievances and Petition might be preſented to the Council; which they for that effect ſend to *Dalzel* to be by him tranſmitted. But as, notwithſtanding of this *Ceſſation*, (and though the ſame was timouſly ſignified to the *Biſhop* as *Preſident* of the *Council*, yet) the Countrey-troops leavyed about *Edinburgh*, were not reſtrained from making an in-fall upon their Quarters, where they reſted ſecurely upon the truſt of the *Ceſſation*; ſo upon the morrow, before almoſt they were aware, and without giving up the Ceſſation agreed to, *Dalzel* finding a nearer way doth almoſt ſurprize them: Whereupon they endeavour to march off, but finding the Enemy ſo near, they are conſtrained to ſtand to & prepare for that Conflict upon the South of *Pentland-hils:* Wherein the *Lieut. General's* forces and theirs being engaged, the very time and hour that the Gentle-man ſent by *Dalzel* to the Council, was preſenting his letters and the

*Weſt-land*

*Weſt-land* mens Grievances, theſe poor men not exceeding eight or nine hundreds, and extremly weakened and ſpent by ſore travail and watching, and moſtly by their faſting and great abſtinence, are (according to the Holy, Wiſe and determinate Counſel of God) a litle after ſun-ſet routed and diſſipated. The number of the ſlain on both ſides were reckoned, about 40 and upwards of the *Weſtland men*, and 4 or 5 of the Generals Forces. The number of the priſoners was greater, amounting in all to 130 and upward: But, becauſe the threed of this ſtory hath precipitated our Narration to this fatal period, the obſervations following will ſupply what is ommitted.

1. That theſe men who roſe in the *Weſt*, were not only (for the moſt part) perſons of known and very exemplar integrity, piety and zeal for God; and all of them (ſeverally and jointly) ſo far from baſe and turbulent deſignes, that they cannot be ſupponed by any who know them, to have been Ambitious of either Rule or Riches; but alſo did with the ſame ſtraightneſs and ſincerity, in all parts declare, that their only Motives were the rigor of extreme Neceſſity, which conſtrained them to the defence of Religion and Liberty, and the Conſcience of that indiſpenſible duty, vve all owe to God & one to another, in the bond of the Holy Covenant; and in the innocency of a moſt harmleſs deportment, did fully conform themſelves to theſe profeſſions: ſo that it may truly be affirmed, that a company of more ſincere, upright and harmleſs men, did never in any age appear in ſuch a poſture. Which as it doth eminently appear, in their ſparing and civil uſage of *Sir James Turner*, and their great abſtinence and mode-

moderation in all places, not only from Plunder and ſuch inſolencies, but even from the neceſſary means of Subſiſtence; ſo it is a truth ſo certain, that all their enemies (ſave a few profane Curates, who ſpare no lies whereby they may vent their malice) muſt and do acknowledge it.

2. That as in many places, there were many found who joined themſelves to the *Lieut. Gener.l's* Forces, to aſſiſt againſt and ſuppreſs that faithfull afflicted company; ſo the *Militia* of *Edinburgh* (by order from the *Secret Council* to the *Town-Council*, and from the *Town-Council* to the ſeveral Captains, who did adminiſtrate it to their reſpective Companies) did, in oppoſition to the ſame perſons, take the following Oath, viz. *I ſhal be true and faithfull to the King, and ſhall defend his Authority and maintain the ſame, againſt this Inſurrection and Rebellion, and any other that ſhall happen, with the hazard of my life and fortune*; And the two *Shires* of Middle and Eaſt *Lauthians* did arm very readily againſt them: But whether this Inſurrection was in Rebellion againſt the King, or whether this Conjuration and theſe Practices, were not a manifeſt Conſpiracy and horrid Rebellion againſt the great God, a few reflections on what we have premiſed ſhall hereafter clear.

3. That as only the force of Neceſſity, from the rigor of their perſecutions, and the cutting off of all liberty to Petition or hope of Redreſs, did compel the *Weſt-land* men to this courſe; ſo upon the firſt appearance and moſt ſlender inſinuation of liberty to Repreſent Grievances to theſe in Authority, they very wilingly and readily embraced the opportunity, and ſignified

fied to the *Council*, that the only evill under which the Land perisheth, is the Erecting of this wicked and tyrannous *Prelacy* contrary to the Holy Covenant, and the cruel oppreſſion, both in Body & Conſcience of all that deſire to continue Faithfull therein: but how they were abuſed in this offer and Tranſaction, we have before related.

4. That though the wicked Prelats (for the greater exaltation of their pride and triumph, both over God and his Cauſe) have boldly affirmed, that theſe men were by certain Faithfull Miniſters perſuaded and brought out, in the full aſſurance of moſt certain Victory, and that their Cauſe was ſuch, that upon the Event they could venture their ſalvation; yet the contrary is moſt certainly known, & that they came out, for the moſt part, moſt voluntarly and of their own accord; thinking it their duty (as one of them in his Teſtimony doth declare) to appear for and help the Lord againſt the mighty: And that, though they had and ſtill retain a moſt firm perſuaſion of the juſtice of the Lord's Cauſe and Covenant, and a very confident aſſurance that the Lord will ariſe and own it, to the utter confuſion of His adverſaries; Yet, knowing that Times and Seaſons are in the Lord's hand, and that the time hath already been, when ſuch *who had indignation, and whoſe heart was againſt the holy Covenant did proſper, and by Arms pollute the Sanctuary of ſtrength, and place the Abomination that maketh deſolate, wherein, though the people that did know their God were ſtrong and did exploits, yet did they fall by the ſword, and by flame, and by captivity, and by ſpoil many dayes*; Theſe men did neither limit the Holy One, nor ballance

lance their reſolution upon the aſſurance of future Events: Yea the fear and apprehenſion of theſe many viſible ſigns attending this Action, whereby the Lord's ſtanding controverſie and continuing diſpleaſure againſt the Land, for fearfull breach of Covenant, and the many horrible ſins that have enſued (which then more then ever were diſcovered, both in the actuall oppoſition of many, and faint withdrawing of others, of whom better things were looked for) did juſtly make them conceave, that as the Lord, who hath ever glorified His own Name, would alſo now glorify it, both in their active and paſſive Teſtimony (a ſeal which His Work and Cauſe, hath not hitherto ſo viſibly had) And that they were rather thereto called, then to be the Lands *Deliverers*; for which, all that fear the Lord may think with trembling, greater judgments are yet ordained.

5. That amongſt the many obſervable providences of God, whereby he brought this Action to it's period, their turning from *Lanerk* towards *Edinburgh*, and leaving the *weſt*, ſpecially theſe parts where many faithful men were preparing for a Conjunction, doth bear the very eminent characters of the Lord's Work and Purpoſe, which he hath ſince made manifeſt; and was the occaſion of the proſcribing of ſeveral both Miniſters and Gentlemen, as we ſhall hereafter mention.

6. That as the *Louthian*-men were very active in appearing againſt this faithfull company; ſo after the Conflict, they were very vigilant and inhumane to take and ſpoil all ſuch flyers as they rencountred: A ſin which no doubt, by reaſon of it's greater aggravations, the Lord will require with greater ſeverity, then

then that of *Edom*, *Obad.* 12. &c. who *rejoyced over the children of Iudah in the day of their destruction; and laid hands on their substance in the day of their calamity, who stood in the cross way to cut off such as did escape, and delivered up these that did remain in the day of distress*; and therefore he is threatened by the Lord, that *for his violence against his brother, shame should cover him, and he should be cut off for ever.*

Thus we have seen the indignation of the Lord; in the most dreadful and astonishing of all judgements; even his suffering and causing the righteous to fall before the wicked; in delivering the soul of his turtle dove unto the multitude of the wicked; His Name unto reproach and blasphemy; His Strength into captivity; and His Glory into the enemies hands: A providence that may justly move our astonishment to a greater height then that of *Iosuah* chap 7. v. 9. *Oh Lord, what wilt thou do unto thy great Name?* And how terrible are the charge and succeeding Judgements which these things do denounce? But the Lord who in wrath remembers mercy, maketh both judgement and mercy his peoples song; and it is to his enemies alone, that a cup without mixture is poured out; as the things which follow will declare.

The *Archbishop* of *St. Andrews* having caused celebrat the report of this Victory, with almost as many Guns from the *Castle* as there were men slain in the fields, and as if the 40 had been 40000 Infidels, the prisoners are brought in, and secured. We cannot but here mention the ready and charitable relief, which many good people in *Edinburgh* did then extend to them;

certainly it is gone up for a Memorial before God, and ſhall have a return. But who can expreſs the malice of that Antichriſtian ſpirit, raging both in the *Arch-Prelate* and his dependents, which miſery it ſelf doth not ſatiate; and therefore they do ſo exclaim againſt this poor expreſſion of humanity, as prepoſterous and ſavouring of diſaffection, that even ſome of their own Complices did condemn them for it.

The *Councill* falling immediately to the examination of the Priſoners, they remitt firſt 10, thereafter 14 to the *Juſtices* to be arraigned or rather condemned as Traitors, they having firſt determined and preſcribed the very maner of their execution: and about the ſame time the *Commiſſioner* going Weſt, with ſome others impowered for that effect, do likewiſe at *Air* and *Glaſgow* condemn other ſixteen. Theſe things we join together, becauſe both their Indictments, maner of Tryall, Doom and Execution were the ſame, except in ſo far as ſhall be noted. The Indictment and Charge of Treaſon exhibited againſt all, conſiſted of two heads and crimes, deduced from old and late Acts of Parliament, and aggravated by many circumſtances, viz. *riſing and gathering in Arms, and renewing the Covenant without and againſt the Kings Authority and conſent*: Every one's particular acceſſion was libelled from, and proven by his own confeſſion before the *Council*. This place might require a large digreſſion for anſwering the crimes objected, and clearing the innocency of the Lord's Witneſſes; but ſeing the preceeding Narration doth not only furniſh all arguments thereto requiſite, but warranteth them by Precedents beyond contradiction, it ſhall ſuffice now to obſerve.

1. That

1. That God the Fountain of all Power, and Author of all Right, as, wherever he hath granted to any creature a Being, he hath also armed it with a love and power of *Self-preservation* sutable to it's capacity; so much more, where, unto a Being, He hath superadded a Right, as in all rationall creatures, which cannot be violated but both by Force and Injury, hath He granted both the Power and Right of *Self-defence*, which is really one and the same thing with it, and in effect nothing else but that divine Impress and rational Instinct, whereby the very course of Nature is upholden, so inseparable from the Being and Right of the creature, that it never ceaseth, except where by the Soveraign Will and Law of God, the Right is first annulled and the Being may be destroyed. Which *position*, being the clear and true foundation of all Rule and Righteousness, and even of the Being of all things, it may justly be wondered, that men should be found, who deny and would subvert it in it's first, principall and most immediate effects. But if according hereunto any will subsume and prove, that either by the Lord's ordaining of powers, or mens Surrendar and Submission thereto, (made mainly for Self-preservation,) the foresaid Right and Power was or could be revoked or renounced, we shall most willingly quite the plea, and prostitute our selves to all the violences that Tyranny can invent, since in that case there could be no Injury.

2. That as all Societies, Governments and Lawes are appointed in a due Subordination to God and His superior Will and Law, for His Glory and the Common Good of the People, including the safety of every individual; so, if either this Subordination be notoriously infringed, or these Ends intollerably perverted,

ed, the common tie of both Society, Government and Law, is in ſo far diſſolved. Hence is it that a King or Rulers commanding things directly contrary to the Law of God, may be and have been juſtly diſobeyed, and by fury or folly deſtroying or alienating the Kingdome, may be and have been lawfully reſiſted. Theſe are concluſions which our greateſt Adverſaries cannot but admit, and are not deducible from any other premiſſes. Let us hear *King Iames*, whoſe loyalty none can doubt, in a ſpeech to the Parliament in the year 1609. he ſaith, *a King degenerateth into a Tyrant when he leaveth to rule by Law, much more when he beginneth to invade his Subjects perſons, rights and liberties, to ſet up an arbitrary power, impoſe unlawful Taxes, raiſe forces, make war upon his Subjects, to pillage, plunder, waſt and ſpoil his Kingdomes.* And leſt his inconſequence be ſuſpected, as if notwithſtanding all this, he would have a Tyrant incontrolable, it is upon the ſame grounds, that in his anſwer to *Cardinal Perron*, he juſtifyeth the Proteſtants in *France* their Defenſive Arms; Now how a diſcretive judgement in theſe caſes, both of unrighteous commands, and wicked violence, and ſpecially in the later, which is (by far) the more ſenſible, doth neceſſarily remain with the People, and in what maner the ſame is to be determined and cautioned, ſo as neither to licenſe diſobedience againſt Authority, nor create ſedition in the Common-wealth, is already fully cleared.

3. That though all Soveraign Powers, (upon the ſuppoſition of theſe true and great ends, and the preſumption of reaſon and charity, that the perſons intruſted do in like manner really intend them,) be conſtituted

ſtituted indefinitly and therefore in appearance univerſally without reſtriction; yet according to this known rule, that ſuch particulars, as if expreſſed, would not (far more if they cannot) be conſented to, are not underſtood to be compriſed under a generall condeſcendence, ſuch exceptions and limitations as are indiſpenſibly implyed and could not lawfully be expreſly renounced, do ſtand in full force. Whereupon alſo both the Righteouſneſs of God's judgements, and the Lawfullneſs of the Peoples Reſiſtance againſt mal-verſing Powers, are clearly and certainly founded.

4. That not only the light of Nature and undenyable Reaſon together with the agreeable Practice of all Nations, ſpecially of our Anceſtors, do evidently clear theſe Principles propoſed, but alſo our own expreſs Statutes declaring the reveal'd Word and Will of God to be the Superior Rule and Law, and repealing all Acts repugnant thereto. *Iac. 6. Par. 1. chap. 3, 4, & 8.* and explaining ſuch Acts as were generally made againſt unlawful Convocations and Leagues and Bonds among Subjects, to be underſtood with this due Subordination and limitation *Car. 1. Par. 1. c. 29.* together with the King and Peoples Oaths of faithful Adminiſtration and Alleadgeance: whereby the Coronation-Covenant and Contract, ſpecially that made with this King (the very bond of the Kingdom) is eſtabliſhed and ſecured, do undoubtedly infer, beyond all contradiction, that both our Government and Lawes are conſtituted and to be interpreted with *ſubordination to the Law and Will of God*, and in order to theſe great Ends of their eſtabliſhment.

5. That though prevailing Factions have in all times endeavoured, by their moſt exceſſive and boundleſs flatteries, to exalt and extend the Powers to an equal

degree of abſoluteneſs in all Cauſes and over all Perſons, meerly for their own baſe ends and private advantages; yet if any of theſe perſons would ſeriouſly conſider, and would ingenuouſly declare their opinion, in a particular application of the caſe to themſelves, what they would account lawfull for them to do either jointly or ſeparately, in caſe that they were injuriouſly and violently invaded to the deſtruction of their Lives or Fortunes, or the ſubverſion of their Families and deareſt and neareſt Concernments, their reſolution in this point would eaſily juſtify the practiſes of all ſuch, who, eſteeming the Glory of God and the maintenance of His Goſpel infinitely preferable to all other Intereſts whatſoever, do valiantly offer and expoſe themſelves for the vindication thereof, to the greateſt hazards.

6. That through the manifeſt and notorious Perverſion of the great Ends of Society and Government, the Bond thereof being diſſolved, the perſons, one or moe thus liberated therefrom, do relapſe into their primeve Liberty and Priviledge, and accordingly as the ſimilitude of their caſe and exigence of their cauſe doth require, may upon the very ſame principles again join and aſſociate for their better Defence & Preſervation, as they did at firſt enter into Societies.

7. That we being a Nation ſo ſolemnly and expreſly engaged by Covenant unto God, & one with another, for the advancing and promoving of theſe holy and important Ends therein contained, there lyeth upon all and every one of us an indiſpenſible duty, by all poſſible means to promove the ſame, not only in our own conſcientious and exemplary walking, and ſerious admonition and exhortation towards others; but alſo in endeavouring (in caſe of Defection) a National Refor-

Reformation, and valiant vindication of the Glory of God, and His Work and Cause, against all incorrigible Apostates; as we would not not by conniving at their sin be partakers of their Judgement, and as we would by destroying the *accursed* from amongst us, avert the imminent wrath of God from the whole Land and Nation. Which *position* as we clearly before asserted, both from the Profession and Practise of our first Reformers; so, that qualification in the Covenant, of *our endeavours in our places and callings*, is most agreeable thereto: seeing the same doth plainly import, that as every one is to confine himself to his own place and move in his own sphere, while all in their respective capacities do harmoniously concurre in the same work and duty; so if any in higher place and imployment, do not only become remiss and forgetful of the Oath of God; but, according to the extent and influence of their power, would seduce and corrupt their inferiors unto their Apostasy, it is both their place to resist such wickedness and violence, and their calling to endeavour either the Reformation or Removal of these who prove so contrary to, and obstructive of the ends whereunto they are ordained. Neither can this inference appear unwarranted or hard unto any who will impartially consider, that though the same qualification doth in the like maner affect and define all duties whatsoever, which we owe either to God or our Countrey; yet it were most absurd thence to infer, that if these more eminently intrusted should either turn directly Apostates and enemies to the Christian Faith, or adversaries and destroyers of the Commonwealth, the people of an inferior degree might not step forward to occupy the places, and assert the Interests, which these wicked men had so traiterously

forfaulted and deſerted. All which muſt neceſſarily be granted, if it be but rightly conſidered, that as *Order* and the Obſervance thereof, is only a mean ſubordinate to, and intended for the Glory of God and the good of the people; ſo muſt all the Regulation and Determination thereof be only admitted, in ſo far as it is Conducible, and no wayes to render it Deſtructive or Repugnant to theſe great Ends of its appointment. From all which we clearly conclude that thir words in the Covenant *of Places and Callings*, are no more Reſtrictive in the caſes above mentioned, then a General's command to his ſouldiours entering in battel (being thus qualifyed) doth impede the neceſſity of Succeſſion (in caſe of the vacancy of any charge, either through death or deſertion) requiſit for the obtaining of the propoſed end of Victory; but that they are in effect (ſpecially the antecedent and ſubjoined words *ſincerely, really and conſtantly, - all the dayes of our life* being conſidered) rather Exegetick and Ampliative.

8. That whatſoever Laws, Covenants and Engagements were ſtanding and binding unto us, before this late fearful Apoſtacy and Defection, they are ſtill in the ſight of God, and in the Conſciences of all that fear His Name and mind his Glory, the rather more ſtrong and obligeing then in the leaſt infringed or diſſolved: It being impoſſible that ſuch Sacred Oaths (ſo ſolemnly ſworn unto the moſt High) and ſuch Righteous Laws by vertue thereof ſtatuted and enacted, for the carrying on, and eſtabliſhment of the Work of God thereby intended, ſhould be Ambulatory and Mutable at the pleaſure of men; ſpecially of ſuch, who, without regard of God, Conſcience, Honor or Honeſty, have, in the very pride and power of

of Wickedneſs, not only broken the Lords bands, caſten away His cords, and violently (under the pretext of abuſed Authority) overturned his whole Work; but done deſpite againſt the ſame, both by ignominious Burning and Blaſpheming of the Lords holy Covenant. And this *Poſition Reſciſſory* we oppoſe unto their great *Act Reſciſſory*, and to all Acts and practices of the like nature antecedent thereto, or dependent thereupon. Being fully perſwaded, that, though now they appear unequally ballanced, yet the Lord ſhall declare from heaven His Righteouſneſs, and laugh at His enemies Acts and Deviſes, and have them all in deriſion.

9. That though we do heartily approve their *Du* veneration and *juſt* eſteem of *lawfull Authority*, (the great and excellent Ordinance of God) who to prevent all prejudice that it may incur, and inconvenience that may enſue thereon, do ſo far tranſmit this reſpect to the perſon therewith veſted, as to hold for a Maxime (but indeed equally againſt Religion, Reaſon and Experience) that *the King doeth no wrong*; And though we are perſwaded, that the true riſe and cauſe of the ſin and calamity under which we lye, is from the malice, perjury, flattery and violence of that Antichriſtian ſpirit ruling in the apoſtat Prelates; and therefore would willingly cloath our ſelves, even in the ſight of man, with that ample Allowance and full Authority, whereby the King did once approve the holy Covenant, and countenance the Lords Work, as if the ſame did yet ſtand (as it ought) not retracted or repeal'd. Yet ſeing our late Parliament by their *ſecond Act*, *Seſſion ſecond*, have reprobated and diſcharged all pretences of Authority in this kind, notwithſtanding that the ſame hath been and may be moſt neceſſary in many caſes,

for the preſerving of the Kingdom, & ſalving of State-inconveniences; we do therefore rather ſubſiſt on the former grounds, and turn our complaint and prayer unto God, who is the great King over all, looking for His appearance, and waiting for His ſalvation.

10. That the Glory of God and of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the Defence and Maintenance of the bleſſed Goſpel, and it's precious Miniſtry and Ordinances, are Duties & Concernments infinitly more important, then the defence and preſervation of our Lives, Liberties and the Common-wealth, againſt the moſt barbarous and horrid violences and injuries that can be imagined: Like-as, the violation and deſtruction of all theſe is ſo evidently deſigned, and wickedly practiſed, by this late and preſent Apoſtacy, that a clearer ground and cauſe of Self-defence and Reformation cannot poſſibly be ſuppoſed; ſo that to condeſcend to anſwer the peevish clamours of theſe Neutral aud careleſs men, who ſay, *what needeth all this noiſe for the extrinſick and arbitrary forms of Government and modes of VVorſhip, both with and without which, Religion and Righteouſneſs have equally flouriſhed and proſpered?* where to shut our eyes from beholding the Glory and Grace of God, that in this Land hath ſo viſibly appeared in, and been advanced by this great Ordinance of PRESBYTERY, by Himſelf (for that end) appointed; and alſo from the obſerving of theſe deludges of Profanity, Wickedneſs, Superſtition and Violence, which the Devill, by his great engine of PRELACY, hath alwayes and in all Churches cauſed and procured.

11. That as ſuch was the State, Condition and Engagements of this Church and Kingdom, at the time of

of the King's return, and before the re-erecting of this Prelacy, that all and every one of the Nation were moſt ſtrictly obliged *ſincerely, really and conſtantly* to have reſiſted and oppoſed this wicked Defection to the laſt drop of their blood; ſo the ſinfull complyance of many, and wofull fainting and withdrawing of others, might indeed incapacitat ſuch as remain faithful from the *beſt*, but neither could nor can dis-engage them from their *utmoſt* endeavours.

From theſe grounds and what hath been formerly repreſented, the argument of the Indictment of Treaſon above-mentioned viz. *That all Convocations and Riſings in Arms, or Subjects entering in Leagues, without or againſt the Kings Authority, are treaſonable: But ſuch was the late Riſing and renewing of the Covenant, Therefore &c.* May be eaſily and clearly anſwered, that all ſuch Riſings and entering into Leagues, as are not warranded and commanded by the Superior Law and Authority of God (who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords) which by our own expreſs Acts and Statutes are acknowledged, and are not founded upon the Fundamental Right, and neceſſarily intended for the preſervation of Religion and Righteouſneſs, the great and principal End of all Laws and Governments, according whereunto our Laws have alſo by poſterior Statutes been expreſly interpreted, are indeed treaſonable: But ſuch the late Riſing was not; but on the contrary was more clearly approven by theſe grounds, then any other the like Inſtance which can be adduced or inſtructed, from the parallel of any other Age or Nation; Therefore it was altogether Lawful, Righteous and Neceſſary. Which anſwer, though the Lords faithful Witneſſes did ſufficiently inſinuat and pro-

pone,

pone, yet both the Conſtitution of the Court, and perſons of the Judges before whom they were arraigned, were ſuch, as the ſame was rather accounted an aggravation of their Crime and Treaſon.

But ſeeing this was not done, without the ſpecious pretexts, not only of iniquous Laws, but alſo of Religion and Scripture; We ſhall briefly conſider, firſt, that Queree often made to them, *where they had read or how they could inſtruct, that, under the Pretence of Religion, it is lawful for Subjects to riſe in Rebellion againſt lawfull Authority?* To which it is anſwered, that this Queree is a clear begging of the queſtion, by expreſly ſuppoſing that the late Riſing was only *in pretence* for Religion, but *really* in Rebellion, which ought firſt to have been proved, and is in effect an arrant calumny and falshood. 2. That even the Queree it ſelf ſeems to imply and grant, that for Subjects to riſe in Arms really for the defence of Religion, againſt the invaſions of the Powers under the pretence of Lawful Authority, is both lawful and laudable: Which being the true caſe and cauſe of this late Riſing, and ſo clearly warranted both by the Word and Covenant of God, and the practiſe of all Reformed Churches; we are content to refer theſe poor mens Innocency, unto the Conſciences and ſecret thoughts of their adverſaries.

Secondly, we ſhall conſider theſe texts of Scripture which were pretended againſt the Innocents: and 1. it was much urged that *Rebellion is as the ſin of witchcraft*; To which one of themſelves did roundly and clearly anſwer, that, the place having been ſpoken by the Prophet to a King, becauſe of his diſobedience and contempt of the command of God, and not to Subjects, would ſooner conclude his Accuſers then him-

himself to be a Rebell. Secondly, it answered, that Rising up against *Authority* it self, the Ordinance of God, and disobeying the Powers therewith vested, standing and acting in their *right line of Subordination*, is indeed Rebellion, and as the sin of witchcraft; but to resist and rise up against persons *Abusing* sacred Authority and *rebelling against God* the Supream, is rather to adhere to God as our Liege Lord, aud to vindicate both our selves and his abused Ordinance, from man's wickedness and Tyranny.

The second text objected was that, *Math.* 26. 52. where even our Lord himself, when violently seised upon by wicked men, but who were then in Authority, did nevertheless restrain his disciples from his own defence and rescue, saying unto *Peter*, *Put up again thy sword into his place: for all they that take the sword, shal perish with the sword*; To which, as it was sufficiently answered (without any reply) by one of these Impeached, (whom they accounted distracted, though without the least appearance of impertinency) who thereto did oppone *Luke* 22. 36. Where our Lord, speaking at the same time and to the same purpose, saith, *he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one*; Yet for further clearing, we say, 1. That from the place it self in all the *Evangelists*, it is most evident, that that command was given, and these words spoken by our Lord, only for to testify his voluntar submission unto the Fathers will, by laying down of his life for fulfilling of the Scripture, as is clear from the same 26. of *Matth.* v. 54. & *John.* 18. 11. otherwise the context being considered (that not only in *Luke* 22. 36. cited, He, forewarning his disciples of hazards to come, adviseth them to provide swords and weapons; and in the 26 of *Matt.*, asserts his power to have called 12 legions of Angels

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to his aſſiſtance, which clearly implyes the lawfulneſs thereof) this Scripture objected doth more confirm then impugn the Lawfulneſs of *Defenſive Arms*. 2. Is it poſſible that men ſhould be ſo much demented by flattery, as to think that it was unlawful for Jeſus Chriſt the Mighty God and Lord over all, to have defended himſelf by the aſſiſtance of his Diſciples, againſt the horrid Wickedneſs and Inſurrection of the vileſt of His creatures, had it not been, that it was neceſſary that the Scriptures concerning him ſhould be accomplished. 3. Where our Lord ſaith in the place objected, *all they that take the ſword, ſhal periſh with the ſword*, as He thereby only condemneth Unjuſt and Offenſive war; ſo the Saying it ſelf, by its later part, doth tacitely imply the Lawfulneſs and Juſtice of both *Defenſive* and *Vindictive Arms*, the ſame being otherwiſe juſtly founded.

Though theſe Texts were only objected, yet to help our Adverſaries, who are known not to be much converſant in the Scripture, and to obviate the ſcruples that may thence ariſe to others, we ſubjoyn a third text *Iohn.* 18.36. where our Lord ſaith, *if my Kingdom were of this world, then would my ſervants fight, that I ſhould not be delivered to the Iews*, whence ſome infer, that all Arms, even in Defence of Religion, are unlawfull and prohibited; But it is anſwered, as the intent and ſcope of our Lord's anſwer, was to clear himſelf of that calumny objected againſt Him by the *Iews*, that he made Himſelf a King in oppoſition to *Caſar*; ſo the meaning of it is plain and obvious, to wit, that our Lord's Kingdom is not of the Nature and for the Ends, for which other Kingdoms of this world were inſtituted; but wholly ſpiritual for declaring

ing the Truth, and thereby gaining souls unto glory: Whence as our Lord would there inter that he came not to conquer to himself Disciples by outward force, and thereby to gain followers by the spoiling of *Cæsar* and other Princes; so it is without all shaddow of connexion thence to conclude, that a people having receaved the blessing of the Gospel and Kingdom of Iesus Christ, should without Resistance suffer themselves (to the manifest dishonor of God and the hazard of the eternal damnation of themselves and their posterity) to be impiously and sacriledgiously spoiled and deprived thereof, when they are in a capacity to defend the same. The truth whereof, together with the hypocrisy of our Adversaries, may soon be discovered, if the Question be but stated in the terms of one Forraign & independent Prince's invading another, meerly upon the account of the Christian Faith; and whatever solution or evasion they shall herein make, will as exactly quadrat to the case in hand, it being almost ridiculous to conceave, that the greatest aggravation of Invasions of this Kind, to wit, that it is made by a Prince upon his own Subjects (whose Profession he himself is principally bound to maintain) should import any speciality and difference in the cases. The last text is that of *Math.* 5.39. and remanent verses to the end, where our Lord saith, *resist not evill, but whosoever shall smite thee* &c. with the other parallel places, specially *Rev.* 13.10.. But it is answered, that as these places do injoyn either patience, when the clear call and dispensations of God do inevitably call unto suffering, without which patience were no patience but rather stupidity; or that bounty and debonairity which our Lord would have his disciples to practise, in the remitting and dispensing with the utmost extensions

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and points of Right, for the better reproving and condemning of the animoſities and rigid contentions of men, for matters of ſmall or no moment, and the more effectuall commending the grace and peace of the Goſpel; So thence to infer that men ſhould give way to all Violence and Sacriledge (to the ſubverting of Religion and Righteouſneſs) is, after the manner of Sathan, to cheat and abuſe men by the holy Scriptures of Truth unto wickedneſs and error; and groſsly to exceed that ſignal rule mainly in theſe places intended, to wit, that we ſhould *be perfect even as our Father which is in heaven is perfect*, who, though he filleth the earth with his goodneſs, and extendeth his bounty unto all, cauſing the ſun to riſe upon the evill and on the good, yet doth he love righteouſneſs, and helpeth and delivereth the oppreſſed; and commandeth the zeal of his own glory (wherein He himſelf doth often eminently appear) by the hand of His people, to take vengeance on His adverſaries. Let us therefore in the conſideration of what is ſaid *Rev.* 13.10. *he that leadeth into captivity, ſhall go into captivity; he that killeth with the ſword, muſt be killed with the ſword*, both poſſeſs our ſouls in patience under all the former ſufferings, and hope and rejoice in the faith of the ſucceeding delivery there ſubjoyned.

Theſe are the Defences which theſe Faithful men did ſummarily hint at, and being often interrupted, were ſcarcely permitted to propone: All which being rejected as unworthy to be heard, what wonder, if what their *Advocats* did plead in their defence, upon the point of *Quarter* given to ſome of them in the field, was alſo repelled? We are not to dip in matters of this kind; but certainly it much diſcovereth the ſpirit

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of malice and violence that now prevaileth, that neither the Nature and Import of *Quarter*, which pertaineth nothing to Grace or Pardon (whereof these men were declared incapable) but *is a paction of the Law of Nations, whereby the person worsted, by quitting of his arms*, (the only and oftentimes the probable means either of his safety or vengeance) *doth condition for, and redeem his immunity as to life*; Nor yet the honor of the Granters, Persons *Commissionated* by the King for the command of his Forces, with the common Priviledges and dignities belonging to such Offices; Nor yet the Practice of all Nations about, even in the case of *Intestine* War; Nor the rational arguments of humanity and prudence, not to reduce men to utter despair in succeeding Insurrections (from which no Kingdom is priviledged) Nor lastly, the Paucity of these few innocents, not exceeding 5 or 6 who could have been thereby benefited (there being many other taken and not upon Quarter) could prevail against that Pedantick distinction *inter bellum justum & injustum*. But this being alleadged to have been *bellum injustum*, (as indeed it was in the justest sense) therefore no faith nor Quarter must be herein observed, *quia, sc. adversus Hostes tantum est Bellum, at in Perduelles, judicium*, as if from this, one should conclude, that though in *War* there may be faith and Quarter, yet in *Judgement* there ought neither to be Truth nor Performance.

All defences therefore being repelled, these persons accused were all condemned to be hanged to death as Traitors, and their Heads and right Hands to be cut off, to be disposed on by the *Council*, and their Goods and

Estates to be forfaulted to the Kings use. And accordingly upon several dayes, this Sentence was executed upon thirty five of these faithful men, and by Ordinance of *Council*, the heads of many of them were affixed upon the Ports of several Burghs; and the right hands of the first ten (to the high contempt of God and His holy Covenant, and to the provocation of His jealousy) on the *Tolbooth* of *Lanerk*, where the Covenant was by them solemnly renewed and sworn. As for the other five, they were and are reprived; One of them, who in all his Tryall, to the conviction of all appeared most constant in the Covenant, and bold and pertinent in his Testimony, upon the colour of a fit of distraction (by which he was once vexed) and through the intercession of many in his behalf; An other of them, for his vile and abject fainting to the very reproach of humanity, redeeming his life by becoming *Hang-man* to seven of his fellows, when two ordinary Executioners in the Burghs about had plainly refused, declaring they would have nothing to do with the blood of such Righteous men, and one of them therefore imprisoned; The other three, partly because of their fainting and condescendence to take the *Declaration*, and partly through the favour and intercession of friends.

We shall not, nor cannot enter upon the particular declaration of that Grace, Constancy and Courage, by which the Lords faithful Witnesses were sustained, and did bear Testimony to the Word of his Truth, the holy Covenant, and the Cause and Work of God. Only this is certain, that the Lord did not more desert that vile abject person to the weakness of flesh and blood, whereby he was depressed below the very contempt of men, then by His Grace and Glory, evi-

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dently to manifeſt the power thereof, He was eminently preſent with ſuch as He honoured to be his Witneſſes, to cauſe them contemn and triumph over Principalities and Powers, hell and death, and all their terrours; as may be evident from theſe things following.

1. That the *Councel*, pitching upon thoſe men without choiſe, for a Teſt of diſcrimination did require ſeveral of them, by taking the *Declaration*, to renounce the Covenant; which they conſtantly refuſed. And ſo were Martyred, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better reſurrection.

2. That *Mr Hew Mackaile*, a young man of 25 years of age, and an Expectant in the Miniſtery, being arraigned and accuſed through meer ſpite of the *Arch-Biſhop* of *St. Andrewes*, (againſt whoſe *Iudas*-like Apoſtacy he had preached four years ago) for no greater acceſſion, then that he had been ſome few dayes with theſe that roſe, with a ſword (having been moſt uncircumſpectly taken, leaving them becauſe of his infirmity and weakneſs the day before the Conflict) did not only moſt patiently endure cruel Torture whereby he was examined, for the diſcovery of the contrivance of that Riſing, which all men knew and ſaw to be Indeliberat; but, notwithſtanding the promiſe of favour plainly made to him upon condition of ingenuity (which he ſincerely uſed) being alſo condemned, did utterly reject all inſinuations made unto him upon condition of the leaſt Retractation; and bitterly mourning for, and repenting of his apparent fainting and relinquishing, though it really proceeded more from his infirmity, then fear or love of life, but rejoycing in his own folly, whereby the Lord did bring him to ſuch a manifeſtation of his Grace, and declaration of His

Glory, he, to the admiration of all, in his moſt conſtant and Chriſtian ſuffering, by his blood ſealed the Truth and glorified God.

3. That others of them, though obſcure and illiterate men, upon the Scaffold hurried and interrupted in the declaring of their Teſtimony, by the Prelats Orders, and the rudeneſs and inhumanity of theſe that executed them; yet did bear witneſs to the cauſe of God, and of that grace and aſſurance, whereby the Lord upheld them, to the admiration and aſtonishment of all the beholders.

4. That though at *Glaſgow* and *Air*, where eleven of them were executed, (all mean Countrey-men, and ſome of them of decrepit age, and others of them very young, not exceeding 18 years) their enemies cauſed beat drums about the Scaffold that they might not be heard (a barbarity never practiſed in *Scotland*, and rarely heard of, except in the Duke of *Alva's* Martyring of the Proteſtants in the *Low-countreyes*) yet were they ſo litle thereby amazed, that both by words of of Praiſe and thankſgiving to God, that had honoured ſuch *plough-men* (as they termed themſelves) to be His witneſſes, and the conſtancy of their countenance and whole carriage, they did bear ſuch teſtimony to the Holy Covenant, as both many were thereby confirmed, and their Enemies aſhamed.

5. That though ſome of them did appear weak and faint-hearted at firſt, yet ſo powerfully and abundantly was it given to them *in that hour*, that out of weakneſs they were made ſtrong; and declared that they had ſeen ſuch glimpſes of the Glory of God betwixt the priſon and the Scaffold, that all fear was clearly diſcuſſed; And particularly a young Countrey-boy, not much above ſixteen years of age, being condemned at *Air*, moſtly

moſtly becauſe he did refuſe to take the *Declaration*, which they told him, was the renouncing of that Covenant which he had taken at *Lanerk*; & though, both through fear and ignorance of the very grounds of Chriſtianity, he fell into great anxiety, neither daring to die, nor yet to redeem his life at the rate propoſed; Yet after the Prayers and Conference of ſome that had acceſs to him at *Irwin* two dayes before his death, on the morning that he ſuffered, he appeared ſo much changed, both from the depth of fear and perplexity unto great reſolution and joy, and ſo much enlightened with the knowledge of God in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the hope of Salvation through His Name, that all that ſaw him, do bear teſtimony to the Grace and wonderfull Work of God, & of that joy of heart, that carried him to the Scaffold, leaping and praiſing God.

From all which particulars, and from the ſeverall Teſtimonies and Speaches, which theſe left behind them in writing, we muſt conclude and rejoyce, that God out of the dark cloud of ſuch a ſad and aſtonishing providence which lately overſpread us, hath brought forth ſo bleſſed and bright a cloud of Witneſſes, ſtrengthened and filled with ſo much grace and glory, to bear Teſtimony unto His Name, Covenant and Cauſe and for the confirmation of all that love and wait for His Salvation.

We have hitherto ommitted, to ſay any thing to that *Oath* of *Conjuration* taken by the *Militia* of *Edinburgh*, and the concurrence and aſſiſtance of many others, who did either Actually riſe in Arms for the ſuppreſſing of God's People and Cauſe, or ſince the Conflict did ſtop, apprehend, and ſpoil them in the croſs way, and have been aſſiſting and abetting to their deaths and perſecutions, either as *Guarders* of Priſons,

Courts or Scaffolds, or as *Iudges*, *Clerks*, *Advocats*, *Aſſizers*, or *Officers* in the Dooms pronounced againſt them. If, after all the truth, equity and reaſon that have been repreſented, and the Power and Glory which God hath declared, men will not hear and fear, nor be converted, neither the tongues of men and Angels, nor of ſuch as ſhould return from the dead, would be of any force or perſuaſion to prevail with them. Is it poſſible, that *Edinburgh* ſhould think that the pretence of a new invented Oath of *alleageance* and *fidelity* to the King, and for the defence of his Authority againſt all Inſurrections and Rebellions, wherein the *Prelates* and the Up-hold of their wickedneſs, and the Subjecting of all the Godly to their luſt and tyranny, were and are clearly intended and deſigned, ſhall warrand them in the great day of the Lord (who is terrible unto the Kings of the earth) for taking part with Rebels and Apoſtats againſt the God of heaven, and for oppoſing and oppreſſing of ſuch, as, continuing ſtedfaſt in the common Cauſe and Covenant (for which *Edinburgh* was once very honourable and eminent) did only endeavour to liberat themſelves from that intolerable Bondage both of Bodies and Conſciences (more grievous then death) under which they groaned? doth *Edinburgh* thus not only condemn the practice of Our Noble Anceſtors and Reformers, who accounted it neither Inſurrection nor Rebellion to ſet themſelves for the defence of the Goſpel againſt the then Powers, who did endeavour to oppreſs it; but by this Oath, abandon both Religion and Liberty, in this ſo perillous and backſliding a Generation, to the luſt and tyranny of abuſed Authority, and whatſoever it ſhall pleaſe to impoſe, without control or contradiction? Do they thus remember the National Covenant and the Solemn

League

League and Covenant once so powerfully sworn and owned amongst them, and the *mutuall defence and assistance*, wherein *every one of us* is thereby *bound to another, to the uttermost of our Power, against all sorts of persons whatsoever, and not to suffer our selves, by whatsoever Combination, Terror or Perswasion, to be divided and withdrawn from that blessed Union* therein contained? While on the contrary, they conspire and conjure themselves against such whom they are not only bound to assist, but also to relieve of all the persecutions and oppressions which they suffer and sustain, only for their adherence to the same holy Covenants. Surely these things being duly considered, this Oath, in stead of qualifying the *Declaration* (in lieu whereof, being more general, plausible and insnaring it was contrived and imposed) will be found a practical application of all the Wickedness and unrighteousness, which is therein only speculatively declared; and may in the righteous judgement of God, by reason not only of the equality, but even of the excess hereof to *London's* sin, bring upon *Edinburgh*, *London's* plagues and judgements. We need not here insist to testify against the rest, who in any sort concurred or assisted in the opposition and persecution above-mentioned; the meanest part of whose accession, doth far exceed *Paul's* keeping the clothes of such as stoned *Stephen*. If we consider that the suffering and not opposing, to the utmost of our power, the shedding of innocent blood, doth involve all under that certain denounciation made by *Jeremiah* unto the Princes of *Judah*; and all the People, *Jer.* 26, 15. saying, *Know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye shal surely bring*

*innocent blood upon your ſelves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof*; the moſt innocent amongſt us, will find himſelf more concerned to repent of his own, then cenſure others for their acceſſion. The ſerious thoughts whereof, may and ought juſtly to cauſe us tremble, leſt our *Manaſſeh*-like ſin in ſhedding of innocent blood, *provoke the Lord to wrath* in ſuch a meaſure *as he will not pardon.*

But when we do reflect upon the rage, cruelty and barbarity that have enſued, the things that we have mentioned, may juſtly appear to be but the Beginnings of evills. For firſt, immediatly after the Conflict, the *Arch-prelat* procureth a proclamation to be emitted *Prohibiting the reſett and concealment of, or correſpondence with any of theſe* poor men that had eſcaped, or had been acceſſary unto the late Riſing, and ordaining all to purſue them as the worſt of Traitors *under the pain of being accounted guilty of the ſame Rebellion.* In which Proclamation, after the *Arch-Biſhop* had impudently and abſurdly laboured, that ſeveral perſons, againſt whom, not ſo much as any delation or ground of ſuſpicion could be alleaged, should, contrary to all reaſon, be inſert, he at length prevailed that about 57 Gentlemen, Miniſters and others, alleaged more eminently guilty, should be therein by Name expreſſed. Certainly if it be conſidered, that neither Reaſon nor Prudence do adviſe to ſeek Security only in Revenge, but rather by an attemperation of Clemency, in caſes of this nature, to bring things to a compoſure, we muſt conclude, that ſuch courſes are only the product of blind prelatick-fury. 2. After the firſt executions at *Edinburgh*, the *Commiſſioner* and *Lieutenant General*

*General* march unto the *West*, and there having condemned and executed several persons, as we have before mentioned, the *Lieutenant General* staying behind, taketh up his Quarter at *Kilmarnock*; and there, and from thence doth practise and issue forth such orders of cruelty, as the barbarity thereof may very probably render the Narration suspected.

For. 1. The Countrey is burthened with such Localities of Corn and Straw for Troop-horses, (more then double the number of these that were amongst them) that to redeem themselves from the drudgery, they not only are content to quite the prices which the troopers ought to pay, but also to pay in to them such summs of Money, as upon computation will equalize the valued rent of the Shire.

2. Notwithstanding of all the Excise, Fines and Taxations imposed and leavyed for the maintenance of these Forces; yet upon pretence of want of moneys and Pay, the souldiours are shortly thereafter permitted to take free Quarter; and consequently are licensed to all the abuses, that either rapine or cruelty may suggest.

3. *Dalzel*, at and by his own hand, hath privately in his own chamber and Quarters, not only by words menaced such, as after publick examination upon the account of Intelligence, had been acquitted; but also really (by fire and sword, threatening to kill out-right, or rost and burn alive, such who being groundlesly questioned, had upon the first examination declared all they knew) examined men by tortures.

4. Such persons as he happeneth to apprehend, whether upon the suspicion of their having been with these that rose in Arms, or having reset such after the Conflict, are there-upon ordinarly stript naked to their

ſhirts and breeches; and thruſt into Priſons, in cold, hunger, nakedneſs, and ſometimes in extreme ſtraitneſs; As in *Kilmarnock* into dark and obſcure little holes, which being deſtined for one man or two, and not capacious of more (though ſtanding upright) then ten or twelve, they are ſo pinched, that not one of them can poſſibly ſo much as relieve himſelf of the continual pain of ſtanding, by ſuffering his body to ſink unto the ground; and unto all the former miſeries have that of their own dung and excrements ſuperadded: ſo that the poor men would often chuſe death rather then life. Amongſt which cruelties and rigors, that practiſed upon a petty *Heritor* in or about the Parish of *Vchiltry*, deſerveth to be remembered: Who, being apprehended upon a groundleſs ſuſpition of reſet of Traitors (as they tearm them) was brought to *Kilmarnock*-Tolbooth; where, being an old man full of obſtructions, he was ſo ſuffocated with the ſmoak, there occaſioned by a coal-fire, wanting a chimney-vent, that often-times a day the ſouldiours have in deriſion carried him out as dead, and after a litle recovery by reaſon of the free Aire, with cruell ſcorn ignominiouſly returned him unto his priſon. Which Barbarity they ſtill continued, until by extremity of ſuch uſage, he is reduced to ſuch weakneſs as there is litle hope of life.

5. There is one Act, ſo far beyond, and without all ſhew and pretence of Humanity and Juſtice, as ſcarce any preface or Teſtimony is ſufficient to perſwade the belief of it; which is thus. *Dalzel* having ordered a party to *Newmills* to ſeiſe and apprehend one *Finlaw*, living peacably in his own houſe, and they about the time of *Dalzel's* return from *Air*, returning and bringing with them the priſoner, he inſtantly calleth him to his

his chamber, and examineth him privately (withoutſo much as any one witneſs preſent) whether or not he was with the *Rebels* at *Lanerk*; the man in anſwer declareth, that he was there when they came to the place, but upon the account of his own private affairs. The *General* asketh in the nixt place, whom he knew to have been there amongſt them, and becauſe the man (by declaring his ignorance) appeared unwilling to diſcover any, he inſtantly calleth the *Lieutenant* of the Guard, and giveth orders to carry the poor man to the Gallows and there to shoot him dead. The man being thus hurryed away, when he is brought to the place of execution, queſtioneth the *Lieutenant*, if the *General* was ſerious in what he had ordered: whereunto the *Lieutenant* replyeth that he knew nothing to the contrary; the poor man declaring his innocency, obteſteth him, both upon the grounds of Humanity and Chriſtianity, that he would at leaſt obtain him a reprival for that night, that he might prepare for Death and Eternity, and with ſome importunity prevaileth to move him to return to *Dalzel* for a grant of the licence deſired: but the *Lieut. General*, in place of relenting, doth moſt ſeverely threaten the *Lieutenant* himſelf, telling him that he would teach him to obey his orders preciſely without pleading for mitigation; whereupon the *Lieutenant* returning to the place, immediately ordereth the poor man to be shot, who was inſtantly ſtript naked and left dead upon the ground. A fact ſo Barbarous and Cruell, and in effect ſo plain a *Murder*, being deſtitute of the leaſt shaddow of either Ordinary or Martial Law to colour it, that the horror thereof may juſtly render it incredible.

6. As this laſt Act is ſuch as barbarity it ſelf would condemn, ſo its well known that this man *Dalzel* was

wastherefore brought from *Muſco*, where it was ſuppoſed he had learned to comply with that Arbitrary Tyranny, and to exerciſe that Barbarous Cruelty, which there more then in any part of the Chriſtan World, is wickedly practiſed, as the only proper Executioner, agreeably & accurately to ſerve the rigor and violence of this accurſed Prelacy. Which expectation he hath not at all fruſtrated: For both he and the *Arch-Prelate* of *St Andrews*, are ſo wickedly acted by the ſame ſpirit of ſpite, rage and wickedneſs, that they have often grieved and openly complained, that ſuch whom they have ſuppoſed, and would have inſtantly and utterly deſtroyed as criminals (according to the exceſs of their own luſt and malice, without reſpect to any meaſure or proportion of Juſtice) should either be proceeded againſt, or punished acording to the tenor of Law; accounting and impudently declaring, that theſe *Formalities* (as they are pleaſed to tearm the very ſubſtantials of Law, and the great ſecurity of all mens lives and fortunes) were, and are in their opinions moſtly obſtructive to the King's ſervice. It were endleſs to enumerat all the evils, extortions, cruelties and exactions that this *Muſcovia*-beaſt hath acted and doth practiſe upon that poor countrey of the *Weſt*, where retaining ſome of his forces, both Horſe and Foot, the moſt ſlender ſuſpicions, or the ſmalleſt ſurmiſes, though never ſo falſe, are accounted crimes and convictions; and immediatly punished with ſuch rigorous impriſonment as we have already deſcribed; or by oppreſſive Quartering, not only on the perſon ſuſpected, but alſo on the whole bounds about: in which Quartering, the ſouldiours do behave themſelves with ſuch inſolency and rapine, that not only many hundreds of families

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are reduced to beggery, but in ſeveral Parishes, the countrey almoſt laid waſte and deſolate; So that now it is the common report and perſwaſion of all, that the *Weſt* is appointed for ruine and deſtruction.

7. Seing this is the caſe of almoſt that whole Countrey, without reſpect to guilt or innocency, how hard and lamentable is the condition of ſuch who were in the late Riſing, and have hithertil eſcaped? it is impoſſible fully to repreſent all their ſore diſtreſs and great perplexity which they ſuſtain, wandering and hiding themſelves in woods, mountains and caves of the earth, afflicted with all the pain and miſery, that the extremity of cold, nakedneſs and hunger, with the continual uncertainty of their Lives, can lay upon them, and hunted more then Partridges, by the vigilant and cruell malice of their adverſaries. We know that ſome of our profane Apoſtate Preachers (who not only think the fiery tryall a ſtrange thing, and are offended at the croſs of *Chriſt*, but preferring this worlds eaſe to their everlaſting reſt, do neither hearken to the warning, nor believe the promiſed and often experienced conſolation of ſuffering) have wickedly judged theſe poor men and their cauſe by the event, and affirmed that curſe *Iſa.* 8. 21. to be on them accomplished: but as both the ſin of Sorcery and the ſting of this threatning, imbittered fretting to the curſing of God, the very worm of the damned here recorded, do clearly diſcover and confute this calumny; ſo are theſe Apoſtate calumniators plainly and directly therein concerned, who, having ſuch evident tokens of perdition, as are their vile Apoſtacy and cruell perſecution and reproach, may and ought to tremble in the pre-apprehenſions thereof, which

which, without ſerious repentance, they cannot eſcape, when the righteous God who upholdeth his own with ſtrength and joy in tribulation, ſhall hereafter give unto all of them, though now troubled, reſt with all ſaints.

But not only time, but heart and tongue would fail any Chriſtian, to relate all the violences, plunderings, extortions and inſolencies, that from the beginning of this Apoſtacy until this day have been and are committed by Military Force among us, firſt upon *Galloway*, then upon both *Galloway* and *Nithiſdale*, and now upon the whole *Weſt*: which as they have been Extended in bounds, ſo are they continually Intended in cruelty. Only this we ſhall ſay, it ſtobbing, wounding, beating, ſtripping and impriſoning mens perſons, violent breaking of their houſes both by day and night, and beating and wounding of wives and children, raviſhing and deflowring of women, forcing wives and other perſons by fired matches and other tortures to diſcover their husbands and nearſt relations, although it be not within the compaſs of their knowledge, and driving and ſpoiling all their goods that can be carried away; without reſpect to guilt or innocency, in as cruell a manner as ever *Scotland* ſaw exerced amongſt them by a forrain enemy (as can be inſtanced from every corner of that Countrey) May repreſent our preſent ſlavery & bondage; certainly the ſame is ſo much the more miſerable and inſupportable, in that all this wickedneſs is moſt unnaturally perpetrated, both by our own Countrey-men and Sworn brethren, and ſo much the rather to be laid to heart by al, that, as al theſe things are only acted and allowed by the wicked malice and blind fury of this prevailing Prelatick party, and for ſatisfying their inſatiable hatred and revenge againſt all

all their oppoſers, ſo is the whole Kingdom thereby diſabled, and moſt obviouſly in theſe moſt dangerous times, expoſed to the Invaſion of any Forrainer; As may be very evident from theſe conſiderations, 1. The *Weſt*, the ſtrength and better part of the Kingdom, is already diſabled, not only by the above-mentioned oppreſſions, but by generall diſarming, and taking of ſerviceable horſes, and likely very ſhortly to be totally waſted and ruined. 2. The *North* and *High-Lands* have been of late ſo much neglected and connived at, through the prevailing wickedneſs of the times, that they are wholly in diſorder, and all places about infeſted by moſt inſolent rapines and murthers; but ſince the Actors are void both of Religion & Conſcience, they cannot now be guilty of either Rebellion or Sedition, and ſince they are rather favourers of then enemies to *Prelates*, it is no matter how great enemies they be to Righteouſneſs. 3. The whole Kingdom is ſo exhauſted by exactions and impoſitions, ſo vexed by generall oppreſſion and diſorder, from which the wickedneſs of Prelatick Rulers, ſuffer no place to be exempted; & ſo diſguſted with the violence and inhumanity they ſee done to their brethren (their own flesh) for ſuch ſlight and unworthy cauſes and occaſions, as the worſt of men not intereſted, do juſtly apprehend Prelacy and Conformity to be; that all are either diſabled, diſheartened, or diſobleiged from the ſervice of King and Countrey. 4. There remaineth no ſtrength nor force amongſt us, but theſe two regiments of foot and nine troops of horſes, which even with the addition of the five more intended, will not in all exceed 2000 foot and 1000 horſe, and yet are they all and more then the Countrey can wel bear, and theſe ſo debauched by licentiouſneſs, cruelty and rapine, that

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neither can their hearts endure, nor their hands be ſtrong againſt an enemy. Theſe are the fruits of our departing from the Lord, and again erecting and admitting this accurſed Prelacy. O! that God would cauſe us to know how evill and bitter they are; but the *Prelats* who fear not God, regard not the Commonwealth, let the Covenant & Conſcience be rooted out, then come on us what will: theſe are the only enemies of their uſurpations & wicked luſts, and therefore muſt be accounted ſo both to King and Countrey; againſt theſe are our forces leavyed and maintained, and unto this deſign their numbers muſt be modelled and our exactions proportioned: The arraying of the Countrey and eſtabliſhing of the *Militia* conform to our ancient Laws and Liberties may poſſibly arm the Prelats enemies; ſurely that courſe would not ſo violently preſs Conformity, and execute their cruelty, nor ſo largely gratify a few Nobles, who by the command of the troops muſt be made ſharers of the ſpoil and booty, and ſo engaged for theſe vile Prelates againſt the poor Countrey. O blinded Nobles! are not the wealth and peace of the Countrey your riches and ſtability? O abject *Scotland*! how art thou abondoned?

This being the deſign, rage and jealouſy of the tyrannizing Prelats, in order thereunto there muſt be five troops more added to theſe already leavyed, and the Countrey yet more oppreſſed for the ſecuring and eſtabliſhing of their wickedneſs. 2, They are endeavouring by all means to have the *Declaration* againſt the Covenant generally preſſed, that either by violent ſtraining they may deſtroy all conſcience thereof, or may more fully diſcover, and more effectually reach all the faithful in the Land, whom by the teſt of a refuſal they purpoſe to ſtage and ſeverely punish as enemies to Autho-

Authority. We shall not offer here to adde any thing againſt this *Declaration*. If all that the Lord hath done in this Land now by the ſpace of near an 100 years, all that his ſervants have formerly declared and teſtifyed, and now of late have witneſſed and ſealed with th r blood, and all the tenor and purpoſe of this diſcourſe avail not to juſtify our holy Covenants, and condemn this horrid Apoſtacy and wicked *Declaration*, nothing certainly will be able to perſwade, and the mighty power of God can only convert. Only we have reaſon to fear that the ſame ſpirit of deceat, which, under the colour of due obedience to lawful Authority, enſnared wretched *Edinburgh* to a combination and conſpiracy againſt the Lord and his Anointed, may renew the ſame practiſe upon the whole Land, for the more eaſy involving of ſuch in this Apoſtacy, whom poſſibly the groſs and palpable wickedneſs of the *Declaration* might deterre: And to ſuch we give this warning, that as all Powers are ſubordinat to the moſt High, and appointed and limited by His holy will and commandment, for his own glory and the Peoples good; and as our Alleagiance was, and ſtandeth perpetually and expreſly thus qualifyed, *viz. in defence of Religion and Liberty*, according to our firſt and ſecond Covenants; and laſtly, ſeing all Alleagiance and obedience to any created Power whatſoever, (though in the conſtruction of charity apparently indefinite, yet) of it's own nature is indiſpenſibly thus reſtricted; To renew the ſame, or take any the like Oath of Alleagiance purely and ſimply, purpoſely omitting the former and due Reſtriction, eſpecially where the Powers are in moſt manifeſt and notorious Rebellion againſt the Lord, and oppoſition to his Cauſe and Covenant, is in effect equivalent to to an expreſs rejecting and diſ-owning of the ſame Li-

mitation, and of the Soveraign Prerogative of the Great God and King over all, which is thereby reſerved; & as much as in plain terms to affirm, *that whatever abuſed Authority ſhall command or do, either as to the overturning of the VVork of God, ſubverting of Religion, deſtroying of Rights & Liberties, or perſecuting of all the Faithful to the utmoſt extremity, we ſhall not only ſtupidly endure it, but actively concur with & aſſiſt in all this Tyranny.* And if this be not more, yea double wickedneſs above all that the *Declaration* doth import, let all men conſider. O! all ye who deſire to behold the good that God will do for His People, beware of this High Rebellion againſt Him.

3. As all reſtraints of either Conſcience or Law are now wickedly taken off, and only a convenient opportunity waited for, to re-introduce that dead carcaſe of Formality, the *Service-book*, and the whole bulk of theſe corrupt Ceremonies and pernicious Superſtitions, that have been formerly, and alwayes found ſo deſtructive to the light & power of the Goſpell, & are ſo vain and ridiculous in themſelves, that nothing but the very ſpirit of darkneſs and judiciall deluſion from the Lord, can induce men to ſuch fopperies; ſo may we certainly expect the re-impoſing of this heavy yoke, and all the Sin, Superſtition, Perſecution and Wrath which neceſſarily do attend it, except we abide ſtedfaſt in the Lord's Cauſe and Covenant, inſtantly intreating and patiently waiting for His Salvation, and glorious appearance again in this Land.

Thus we have repreſented in part both the Sin, Sufferings and Diſtreſſes that ly upon the whole Land; which though they be moſt heavy and greivous in them-

themselves, yet are they in their Tendency & Presage more to be regarded. Can any man seriously look upon the hatred and scorn of that Light and Truth, wherein once we gloried, the spite against the Holy Covenant and all Conscience, the Blaphemy and sin against God, and the violence and persecution against all such as fear His Name, whereby the enemy rageth and their tumult continually increaseth, and not be astonished? Is there any who believeth that God is, and that His Words are Truth, and all His Wayes judgement, His Threatnings sure and certain, His jealousy as a consuming fire, His wrath so dreadful and His indignation so terrible, that only the same Omnipotency which inflicteth the strokes, can sustain poor passive wretches from evanishing at it's smallest rebukes, and yet shall sustain them eternally, and not tremble because of the provocation of all these Abominations? O! that such whom the Love of Christ hath not constrained, nor the tears and weeping of a departing Saviour moved, might be yet perswaded by the Terror of the Lord, & that the dread of God might make their hearts soft. Surely abounding sin is the greatest Woe, and prevailing transgression the greatest cause of mourning; but above all sins and transgressions, Christ despised in His Gospell and Ordinances, and persecuted in His members, is the most mournful and fearful: Which as it scattered and destroyed the Lord's peculiar People and Nation, dear to Him above all Nations, and hath overturned and ruined the fairest part of the Christian World, either in Barbarity or gross Darkness; so is it the great condemnation of the whole World. This is the work and wickedness of accursed Prelacy, most Perjurious in it's Rise and ever Antichristian in it's Designes and Effects, as all who have hearts to understand

what we have here declared, and eyes to ſee the preſent ſtate and condition of matters, muſt and will acknowledge. This is thy Sin, O *Scotland*, and, if mercy prevent it not, ſhall be thy ruine. This is the Voice, Teſtimony and Warning of all the ſufferings of the Lord's people; who though continually afflicted and perſecuted in their bodies, & though their ſouls be exceedingly filled with the contempt of the proud; yet have not nor dare not deny the Lord, His Work, nor His holy Covenant: whom though the Lord hath cauſed to turn back from the enemy, and given for a ſpoil to them that hate them, yea given them as sheep for meat, and made them a reproach, a ſcorn and a deriſion; yet have they nor forgotten the Lord nor dealt falſly in His Covenant. O! that men would conſider this Grace of God, whereby as he conforteth and ſuſtaineth his ſervants in all their afflictions; ſo he warneth backſliders to return, and all to flee from the wrath that is to come, and to ſave themſelves from this wicked generation: Which Grace, as it allayeth to the Faithful the ſmart, ſo ought it to remove from all the ſcandal of our Lord's croſs, and is indeed that ſtrength and preſence of the Captain of our ſalvation (who was made perfect by ſuffering) with all His ſufferers, giving for the preſent joy and peace, and afterwards aſſured victory.

Now, ſeing it is the Lord who hath ſo viſibly brought upon us theſe ſore Trialls, that ſuch as are approved may be made manifeſt, and ſo graciouſly delivereth them from the temptation thereof, yea thereby refineth, purifyeth and maketh many white, that they may be more abundant Partakers both of His Holineſs and of His Glory, and alſo eminently beareth witneſs to the Truth, Grace and Power of His

great Work, His holy Covenant, and precious Ordinances and Ministry amongst us, clearing them by His own Testimony of all these calumnies, wherewith either through the invention of some men's malice, or the occasion of other mens weakness and sin, they were formerly aspersed, we shall shut up this discourse with this one word of exhortation.

Great hath been the Sin of this Land in not believing and obeying the glorious Gospell, in not receaving the Lord Jesus in our hearts, and witnessing His Light and Grace and Glory in our lives and conversations, but in resting on the outward forms and appearances of the true Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, without labouring after the power of Reformation, and beauty of holiness (the only grace and blessing of all these enjoyments) and in perverting and mannaging the possession and profession of all these things unto selfish ends and worldly advantages, O foolish people and unwise, have we thus requited the Lord for all these mercies of His Gospell, pure Ordinances and Holy Covenants, to corrupt and deprave them from that great end of the Glory of His grace and mercy in our salvation, unto the base designs of serving and satifying our own lusts to His dishonour? And therefore is it that the Lord, having often in his mercy corrected and warned us, hath now at length given us over unto this horrid Apostacy and Defection; whereby, as the latent malice and hypocrisy of many, and the great fainting and want of zeal in all, have been manifestly discovered; so the Lord is feeding the wicked with their own delusions, and putting the zeal and constancy of all to the Test, and in effect ripening this whole Land, either for a glorious deliverance from that perverse spirit and generation of *Antichrist*, that

hath been long mingled in the midſt of us, and even from the dayes of our firſt Reformation, hath retained and continued the old enmity againſt the Lord Jeſus and His bleſſed Goſpell and Kingdom; or elſe for a totall and final overthrow in utter darkneſs and deſolation. And therefore O *Scotland*, becauſe the Lord loved thy Fathers, and delighteth not in thy deſtruction, hath He, after all our fearful backſliding and ſinful fainting and departing which teſtify againſt us, neither left Himſelf nor us without a witneſs; but raiſed up amongſt us His own faithful Servants and our brethren, with whom we are all equally and indiſſolubly engaged in the ſame righteous Cauſe and Covenant, & by the mighty power of His grace, from the pure zeal of His Glory, enabled them firſt to venture and then to lay down their lives for the Teſtimony of His Work and Covenant, that we may yet at length conſider and underſtand, that theſe were no more the labour and devices of carnal deſigns, then that corruption and weakneſs of flesh & blood could triumph both over it ſelf & death & hell the chief of terrors. O! that men would therefore lay to heart their bonds & Engagements unto the Lord, repent of their backſlidings, and ceaſe from their oppoſition to His Cauſe & Covenant; at leaſt that ſuch whom the Lord hath not abandoned unto that depth of Apoſtacy, whereunto others have made defection, would yet be wiſe & inſtructed, repent of their fainting & Neutrality in the cauſe of God, & their connivance or complyance with the declared enemies thereof, & beware of that wicked *Declaration* againſt the Covenant, or any other Oath and Subſcription likely to be the ſnare and temptation of theſe times, which either under the pretext of Peace and Order, or of due Obedience unto lawful Authority may be wickedly invented and impoſed, really for the ſuppreſſing of Truth,

Truth, and advancing of this Rebellion against the most High God, and the establishing of this Antichristian Prelatick-*Tyranny*. We have already fully detected the mask and design of such impostures; He who hath given Authority and Power unto Kings and Princes, and rendered the same Sacred by His holy Sanction and Command, as he hath often punished their Ingratitude and Usurpation against His own Soveraignity; so will He not hold that people guiltless, who, being both His Creatures and sworn Subjects, either connive at, or comply with such Rebellious Princes in their wickedness. Shall both the Law of God, and the very Propension of the heart and blood to the love and obedience of Parents, cede to the obedience of Kings and Rulers, for the good and preservation of the Common-wealth, and shall not far more all Alleagiance & obedience to the same Kings & Rulers, cede and give place to our Obedience to the Most High our only Soveraign Lord, and the conscience of His holy Oath and Commandments, for advancement of his glory, the great and only end of all things? Fix it therefore in your hearts, first to love and fear the Lord our God, and then to honour and obey the King; and let the sincere and inward love of our Lord Jesus Christ, the dear esteem of his precious Gospel, and the remembrance of our most sacred and solemn Oaths and Covenants, and of that beauty, power and glory of His pure Ordinances, Ministry and Government which we once enjoyed, alwayes dwell in your hearts, and ever determine and establish you to resist and disown all wicked Usurpations against the Lord and His Anointed, all Invasions against His Crown and Prerogative, all Corruptions and Humane Inventions in His pure Worship and Ordinances, all perversion of the true

Government and comely Order in His houſe, and all violations of theſe indiſpenſible & holy Engagements, whereby this whole Nation is perpetually joyned unto the Lord; and alſo ever animat yow to Do or Suffer for the Lords great Name and theſe precious & important concernments, as He requireth; leſt if ye either faint in your mindes, or give up your ſelves to the deluſion of ſome carnal diſtinction, quiting the ſounder for the ſafer part, againſt the explicit Teſtimony, or implicit inclination of your own Conſciences (which later, if ſincerely aiming at the glory of God, and in nothing repugnant to His holy Word, is no otherwiſe to be regarded in times of temptation, then as that promiſed ſecret leading of the blind in the way they know not) you not only loſe your Crown, but provoke the Lord to cauſe all the Churches know by your plagues, that He it is who ſearcheth the reins & hearts.

But unto theſe few names in *Scotland* that have appeared zealous for God, & have not forgotten His Covenant in theſe declining times, & all theſe who favour their Righteous Cauſe; The Lord (who liveth & was dead, and is alive for evermore, *Amen*,) knoweth your works, tribulation & poverty (but yow are rich) and alſo the blaſphemy of them which ſay they are Chriſtians & are not, but are the ſynagogue of Antichriſt, Fear none of theſe things which yow do or ſhall ſuffer, your afflictions are but for Triall, and may be Short: be Faithful unto the death and ye ſhall have the Crown of life. And as ye love God & the Father of our Lord Jeſus, who gave His only and eternall delight unto the death for us Sinners; as ye love our Lord Jeſus Chriſt who loved us and waſhed us from our ſins in His own blood; as ye love the Holy Spirit of Grace who breatheth all this love into our hearts, and

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comforteth and ſealeth us unto the day of redemption; as ye love the bleſſed Goſpel, in the light whereof all this love is revealed, and God therein mainly glorified; as ye love the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood; as ye love (for your own ſouls and for your poſterity) eternal life; as ye love poor *Scotland* and it's deliverance from the dreadful and imminent wrath of God; and as you love the preſervation of all Intereſts either Spiritual, Temporal or Eternal, Adhere ſtedfaſtly to the holy Covenant, that Sacred and Firm Bond and Engagement unto all duties of Religion and Righteouſneſs, our bleſſed ſealed Charter of all the Lord's bleſſings and ordinances, eſpecially of that great Ordinance of the Miniſtry and Government of the Lord's houſe, which He himſelf hath appointed the hedge of all other Ordinances, and the great and moſt effectual mean of the Goſpel's eſtabliſhment and advancement. For, as it is only the holy zeal of God inſpired and animated by the fervent love of our Lord Jeſus, and the fear of the Lord's great Name, and the regard of His ſacred Oath, that can make you of quick underſtanding in theſe perillous times, for the diſcovering of both duties and dangers, and ſtrengthen you with all might, either for Doing or Suffering, that you may endure unto the end; ſo you may be aſſured, that if the Lord's thoughts toward *Scotland* be thoughts of peace and not of evil, to give us an expected end (as we have great ground and perſwaſion of hope) it ſhall be upon the broken plank of this deſpiſed Covenant, that this toſſed and ſhip-wrackt Church ſhall be preſerved, in midſt of all theſe fluctuations, and at length attain to it's deſired haven of Peace and Truth. Yea though this Apoſtacy and perſecution ſhould prevail

vail to wear out the ſaints of the moſt High, and the Lord (becauſe of the overſpreading of abomination) ſhould determine and bring upon us utter deſolation; yet ſhall this your faithfulneſs be your Peace, joy and Victory. Let all therefore that deſire to be found faithful, look unto Jeſus and his joy; that with Him enduring the croſs and deſpiſing the ſhame, we may neither faint nor be weary, but in end be partakers of his Victory, Throne and Crown.

Thus we have ſeen and declared the great Work of God in this Land, from the firſt times of our Reformation unto this day; we have alſo ſeen our manifold provocations, whereby we have often Turned, Tempted and Provoked the moſt High; and all theſe judgements, Temptations and Diſcoveries, wherewith, by the ſpace of now more then an Hundred years, he hath corrected and exerciſed us; and we are at length arrived unto, and have conſidered the preſent ſtate and poſture of our affairs: Wherein though 1. the extremity of Apoſtacy, exceeding all that any age can parallel, and aggreageable by all the circumſtances of moſt clear and glorious Manifeſtations, moſt ſolemn and ſacred Engagements, moſt ſudden and cauſeleſs backſliding, and moſt national daring and violent defection that any Church can be charged with. 2. The extremity of Perſecution and Violence, which, conſidering either the Actors; (once ring-leaders, now Apoſtats from the ſame Holy Covenant which they perſecut) or the Manner, by Hoſtile and Military Force, without ſo much as regarding their own Lawes which they pretend for warrant; or the cruelty and exceſs, whereby mens lives are imbittered, making them prefer Death to the ſlaveries and inſolencies which they ſuſtain, Are

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not to be instanced in any Christian Church. 3. The extremity of Sin and profanity, and of the enemies boasting and blasphemy, whose mouths are set against the Heavens, and all the spite of their tongues and indignation of their hearts, against the holy Covenant and tenderness of conscience, over which and all their followers, they wickedly insult and rejoyce. And 4. the extremity of mens fainting and deserting so Good a Cause; Which in their hearts they secretly own and approve, but dare not avow, yea are ready to deny for fear of the Adversaries, Though, we say, these extremities (undenyably apparent in our present condition) do sadly denounce unto this Land, the worst and most woful of all extremities, even utter forsaking and desolation, and that the End is come; yet notwithstanding all these hopeless and desperat appearances, it is the Lord who causeth light to shine out of darkness, and saith in the evening it shall be light, who saith unto dry bones, *live*, and calleth his People out of their graves, who even calleth things that are not as though they were, in whom all the seekers of His face ought to rejoyce, and joy in the God of their salvation. Therefore, although that over and above all these menacing evils, the power and pride of the Enemy should yet more prevail, even many degrees above all the appearances of Human Hope or Help, & all Neighbouring Nations should not only give them the leisure and conveniency, but with all their might conspire and concurre with our enemies, to intend their persecution & strengthen their Apostacy; yet are the Lord's Faithful, not only partakers of that River, the streams whereof make glad the City of God, though surrounded with the siege of of Nations, Batteries of mountains, and insurrections

of

of the Univerſe againſt it, and are built on that rock againſt which the very gates of hell cannot prevail, and do alſo know that their God whom they fear is able to deliver them from this fiery Triall, and He will deliver them from their perſecuters; and if not, that nothing ſave the deſign of greater glory to this own Name, in a greater mercy and ſalvation to His People ſhall impede it: but all that love the Lord's Salvation have alſo fair ground of hope, that the Lord, as he will pour out His wrath upon his adverſaries, ſo will He remember for *Scotland* his Covenant; awake and give a ſhout againſt His enemies; and that, now when He ſeeth their wrath, how they behave themſelves ſtrangely, and ſay our hand is high, and the Lord hath not done all this, the Lord will bring forth for His remnant (even that holy ſeed which ſhall be the ſubſtance of this Land) that Deliverance which is laid up in ſtore with Him, and ſealed up amongſt His treaſures. *For unto God belongeth vengeance and recompenſe*, even the vengeance of His broken Covenant, of His dear Saints blood, and of His polluted Sanctuary. *The adverſaries foot ſhal ſlide in due time, for the day of their calamity is at hand, and the things that ſhall come upon them, make haſte. For the Lord ſhall judge his people and repent himſelf for his ſervants, when he ſeeth that our power is gone, and there is none ſhut up or left: And the Lord ſhall ſay, ſee now that I, even I am He, and there is no God with me: I kill and I make alive, I wound aud I heal: neither is there any that can deliver out of my hand; for I lift up my hand to heaven, and ſay, I live for ever. If I whet my glittering ſword, and mine hand take hold on*

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*judgement, I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me. I will make mine arrows drunk with blood (and my ſword ſhall devour fleſh) and that with the blood of the ſlain and the captives, from the beginning of revenges upon the enemy. Rejoyce, O ye Nations, with his people, for He will avenge the blood of His Servants, and will render vengeance to His adverſaries, and will be mercifull unto His Land and to His People.* This is the Song which God hath taught us, and therewith we ſhut up and ſeal the FAITH AND PATIENCE OF THE SAINTS.

AND now, having finished the Narration intended of the Work of God, and having ſeen and being perſuaded that all the degrees and Paſſages of its Progreſs and Advancement, were the very veſtiges of the Lords aſcendent Power and Glory, which He hath alſo ſealed by the Salvation of many thouſands for our aſſured confirmation, that as this Work is of God, ſo ſhall it not come to nought; But that theſe Antichriſtian *Zats* who oppoſe it, though in the ſame Spirit and Power of Darkneſs, which hath mainly cauſed and procured all the ſin, temptation and ruine that hath befallen any Goſpel-Church, ſince the bleſſed coming of our Lord JESUS in the fleſh, they ſhould ariſe unto, yea

ſurmount the very height of the Papacy and *Antichriſt* himſelf, in their Perſecutions & Tyranny; They ſhall nevertheleſs in the end, be found even to fight againſt God, and perish for ever in their gain-ſaying. As we do therefore deſire to remain ſtedfaſt, immoveable, and always abounding in the Work of the Lord, and every point and circumſtance thereof, without fainting or wearying even unto the Death. in and over which the Lord hath cauſed His faithful witneſſes ſo glorioufly to Triumph; ſo we do only here ſubjoyn, for the clear and unanſwerable conviction and condemnation of the perfidy and wickedneſs of theſe accurſed *Prelates*, both before the World and even in their own conſciences, if any ſenſe thereof do yet remain: That though we had never ſeen any of theſe great and glorious things, whereby the Lord ſince the Year 1637. did revive, confirm and magnify His Work amongſt us, and that the *National Covenant* had not been ſince retaken much leſs explained and eſtablished, nor the *League and Covenant* enſued it; Yet ſince the ſame doth ſtill ſtand in the plain and ſimple terms, wherein it was conceaved, and in that ſenſe and meaning, wherein both it's expreſs Words and all the circumſtances which we have before obſerved do plainly evince that it was at firſt taken; as this Covenant

nant doth remain unto this Day (notwithstanding all the *Prelats* wickedness, perjury and violence) unrepeal'd or condemned, and by no contrary explanation or glosse, either is or can be detorted, from being an undenyable abjuration of accursed Prelacy and all it's corruptions; so is it a certain, fixed and immoveable foundation for all the Work of God that hath ensued, and a very sure ground of confidence to all who seriously perpend, and firmly adhere to it, that the Lord who loved us of old, and chosed our Fathers, shall yet again by his mighty Spirit and Power, turn the hearts of the Children unto the Fathers, and bring us back unto the Lord God of our Fathers, and upon this same Foundation, yet repair our breaches, build up the old wastes, & raise & rear up His Glory.

FINIS.

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# The last SPEECHES AND TESTIMONIES Of some who have Suffered for the TRUTH IN SCOTLAND, Since the Year 1660.

## The last Speech of the MARQUES OF ARGILE, At his Death in Edinburgh, May 27. 1661.

MANY will expect that I speak many things, and according to their several opinions and dispositions, so will their expectations be from me, and constructions of me; But I resolve to disappoint many, for I come not hither to justify my self,

but the Lord, *Who is Holy in all His wayes and Righteous in all His Works, Holy and blessed is His Name*; Neither come I to condemn others: I know many will expect that I will speak against the hardness of the Sentence pronounced against me; But I will say nothing to it. I bless the Lord, I pardon all men, as I desire to be pardoned of the Lord my self: Let the will of the Lord be done; That is all that I desire.

I hope that ye will have more charity to me now, then yee would have had at an other time, seing I speak before the Lord, to whom I must give an account very shortly. I know very well that my words have had but very litle weight with many: And that many have mistaken my Words & Actings both: Many have thought me to be a great Enemy to these great works, that have of late been brought to pass. But do not mistake me, good People: I speak it in the presence of the Lord, I entered not upon the Work of Reformation, with any design of advantage to my self, or prejudice to the King and his Government; As my later Will which was written 1655. and thereafter delivered to a Friend (in whose hands it still remaineth) can show. As for these Calumnies that have gone abroad of me, I blesse God, I know them to be no more: And as I go to make a reckoning to My God, I am free as to any of these, concerning the King's Person or Government. I was Real and Cordial in my desires to bring the King home, and in my Endeavours for Him when he was at home, and I had no correspondence with the Adversaries Army, nor any of them, in the time when his Majesty was in *Scotland*; Nor had I any accession to his late Majesties horrid

horrid and execrable Murther, by Councel or Knowledge of it, or any other manner of way. This is a Truth, as I shall anſwer to my Judge. And all the time his Majeſty was in *Scotland*, I was ſtill endeavouring His advantage; my Conſcience beareth me witneſs in it. So much to that Particular. And (*turning about he ſaid*) I hope, Gentlemen, you will all remember theſe.

I confeſs, many look on my Condition as a *Suffering* condition: But I bleſs the Lord, that He that hath gone before me, hath trod the Wine-preſs of the Father's wrath; by whoſe Sufferings, I hope that my Sufferings ſhall not be Eternal. I bleſs Him that hath taken away the ſting of my Sufferings: I may ſay that my Charter was Sealed to day; for the Lord hath ſaid to me, SON, BE OF GOOD CHEER, THY SINS ARE FREELY FORGIVEN THEE: And ſo I hope my Sufferings ſhall be very eaſy. And ye know the Scripture ſaith, the Captain of our Salvation was made perfect by Sufferings.

I ſhall not ſpeak much to theſe things for which I am condemned, leſt I ſeem to condemn others: It's well known, it's only for *Compliance*, which was the Epidemicall fault of the Nation. I wish the Lord to Pardon them: I ſay no more.

There was an expreſſion in theſe Papers preſented by me to the Parliament, of the *Contagion of theſe times*; Which may by ſome be miſconſtructed, as if I intended to lay an Imputation upon the Work of Reformation: But I declare that I intended no ſuch thing; But only related to the corruptions and failings of men, occaſioned by the Prevailing of the Uſurping Powers. *At this he turned and took them all witneſſes.*

Now, Gentlemen, concerning the Nation, I think there are three ſorts of People that take up much of the World and of this Nation. There is 1. the openly Prophane: And truely I may ſay, though I have been a priſoner, I have not had mine ears ſhut; I hear aſſuredly, that Drinking, Swearing, Whoring were never more Common, never more Countenanced then now they are. Truly if Magiſtrats were here, I would ſay to them, if they lay forth their power for glorifying of God, by reſtraining this, they ſhould fare the better; if they continue in not reſtraining, they ſhall fare the worſe. I ſay no more, but either let People ſhun Prophanity and Magiſtrats reſtrain it, or aſſuredly the wrath of God ſhall follow on it. 2. Others are not openly Prophane (every one will not allow that) but yet they are *Gallio's* in the matter: If matters go well as to their Private Intereſt, they care not whether the Church of God ſink or ſwim. But whatever they think, God hath laid Engagements upon *Scotland:* We are tyed by Covenants to Religion and Reformation: Theſe that were then Unborn are yet engaged; and in our Baptiſme we are engaged to it. And it paſſeth the power of all the Magiſtrats under heaven to abſolve them from the Oath of God: They deceave themſelves, and it may be would deceave others that think otherwiſe. But I would caveat this, People will be ready to think this a kind of inſtigation to Rebellion in me; But they are very far wrong that think *Religion* and *Loyalty* are not well conſiſtent. Whoever they be that ſeparate them, Religion is not to be blamed, but They. It's true, it's the duty of every Chriſtian to be Loyall; yet I think the Orders of things are to be obſerved as well as their Natures; the Order of Religion as well as the Nature

of

of it. Religion muſt not be the Cock-boat, it muſt be the Ship. God muſt have what is His, as well as *Ceſar* what is His: And Theſe are the beſt Subjects that are the beſt Chriſtians. And that I am looked on as a Friend to Reformation, is my Glory.

3. There is another ſort that are truly Godly: And to them I muſt ſay what I fear, &every one hath reaſon to fear (it's good to fear evil) It's true the Lord may prevent it; but if He do not (and truly I cannot forſee any probability of it) Times are like either to be very *Sinning* or very *Suffering* Times: And let Chriſtians make their choice: There is a ſad *Dilemma* in the buſineſs, SIN or SUFFER; and ſurely, he that would choiſe the Better part will choiſe to Suffer. Others that will choiſe to Sin, ſhall not eſcape Suffering; They ſhall Suffer, but it may be, not as I do (*turning about and pointing to the Maiden*) but worſe: Mine is but Temporal, theirs ſhall be Eternal; when I ſhall be Singing, they ſhall be Howling. Beware therefore of Sin whatever yow are aware of, eſpecially in ſuch times.

Yet I cannot ſay of my own Condition, but that the Lord in his Providence hath mind of Mercy to me, even in this World; For if I had been more favourably dealt with, I fear I might have been overcome with Temptations, as many others are, and many more I fear will be; And ſo ſhould have gone out of the World, with a more polluted Conſcience, then through the mercy of God now I have. And hence my Condition is ſuch now, as when I am gone, will be ſeen not to have been ſuch as many imagined. It's fit God take me away, before I fall into theſe Temptations that I ſee others are falling into, and many

others I fear will fall: I wish the Lord may Prevent it. Yet bleſſed be His Name, that I am keeped both from preſent evils & evils to come. *Here he turned about a litle & ſpoke ſome words to Mr Hutchiſon, when turning again to the People, he ſpoke as followeth.* Some may expect I will regrete my own condition: but truly I neither grudge nor repine; nor deſire any revenge. And I declare I do not repent my laſt going up to *London*; for I had alwayes rather have Suffered any thing, then ly under Reproaches as I did. I deſire not that the Lord should judge any man; nor do I judge any but my Self: I wish, as the Lord hath pardoned me, ſo He may pardon them for this and other things; and what they have done to me, may never meet them in their accounts. I have no more to ſay, but to beg the Lord, that when I go away, he would Bleſs every one that ſtayeth behind.

*His laſt Words, immediatly before he laid his Head on the Block after his doublet was off, were theſe.* I deſire you, Gentlemen, all that hear me this day to take notice (and I wish that all who ſee me might hear me) that now when I am entering into Eternity, and am to appear before my Judge; & as I deſire Salvation and do expect eternall Salvation and happineſs from Him, from my Birth to my Scaffold, I am free from any acceſſion by my Knowledge, concerning Counſel or any other way to his late Ma. death; And I pray the Lord preſerve his preſent Maj. and to pour his beſt bleſſings on his Perſon and Government; and the Lord give him good and faithful councellors. *Turn-about to his Friends, he ſaid,* Many Chriſtians may ſtumble at this, and my Friends may be diſcontented; But when things are rightly conſidered, my freinds

have

have no Diſcredit of Me, nor Chriſtians no Stumbling block, but rather an Encouragement.

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## The laſt Speech and Teſtimony of Mr JAMES GUTHRIE,

Miniſter of the Goſpel at *Sterlin*, at his Death at *Edinburgh*, Jun. 1. 1661. which a day or two before his Death he wrot, and left with ſome of his Friends ſealed and atteſted under his own hand.

MEn and Brethren, I fear many of yow be come hither to gaze, rather then to be edified by the carriage and laſt words of a dying man: But if any have an hear to hear, as I hope ſome of this great confluence have, I deſire your audience to a few words. I am come hither to lay down this earthly Tabernacle and mortal flesh of mine; and I bleſs God, through His Grace I do it willingly and not by conſtraint. I ſay, I ſuffer willingly: If I had been ſo minded, I might have made a diverſion, and not been a Priſoner; But being conſcious to my Self of nothing worthy of Death or of Bonds, I would not ſtain my Innocency with the ſuſpicion of guiltineſs by my withdrawing: neither have I wanted opportunities and advantages to eſcape ſince I was Priſoner, not by the fault of my keepers (God knoweth) but otherwiſe; But neither for this had I Light or Liberty; leſt I ſhould reflect upon the Lord's Name, and offend the Generation of

the Righteous: And if some men have not been mistaken, or dealt deceatfully in telling me so, I might have avoided not only the severity of the Sentence, but also had much favor and countenance, by complying with the courses of the time: But I durst not redeem my Life with the loss of my Integrity; God knoweth I durst not; and that since I was Prisoner, He hath so holden me by the hand, that he never suffered me to bring it in debate in my inward thoughts, much less to propone or hearken to any overture of that kind. I did judge it better to Suffer then to Sin; And therefore I am come hither to lay down my life this day. And I bless God, I die not as a *Fool*; Not that I have any thing wherein to glory in my self: I acknowledge that I am a Sinner, yea one of the greatest and vilest that hes owned a profession of Religion, and one of the most unworthy that hes Preached the Gospel; my corruptions have been strong and many, and have made me a sinner in all things; yea even in following my duty: And therefore Righteousness have I none of mine own, all is vile; But I do beleeve that Jesus Christ came into the World to save sinners whereof I am Chief: Through Faith in his Righteousness and Blood have I obtained Mercy; and through Him and Him alone, have I the hope of a blessed conquest and Victory over Sin, and Sathan, and Hell, and Death, and that I shall attain unto the Resurrection of the Just; and be made Partaker of Eternal Life. I know in whom I have beleeved, and that He is able to keep that which I have committed unto Him against that day. I have Preached Salvation through His Name, and as I have preached so do I Beleeve, and do commend the Riches of His Free-

grace

grace and Faith in His Name unto yow all, as the only way whereby ye can be ſaved.

And as I bleſs the Lord that I die not as a fool; ſo alſo that I die not for *Evil-doing*. Not a few of yow may happily judge, that I ſuffer as a Thief, or as a Murtherer, or as an evil Doer, or as an Buſſy body in other mens matters. It was the lot of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt Himſelf, and hath been of many of His Precious Servants and People to ſuffer by the World as evil Doers: & as my ſoul ſcareth not at it, but deſireth to rejoice in being brought into Conformity with my Bleſſed Head, and ſo bleſſed a Company in this thing; ſo do I deſire and Pray that I may be to none of yow to day, upon this account a ſtone of ſtumbling and a rock of offence: Bleſſed is he that ſhall not be offended at Jeſus Chriſt and his poor ſervants and members, becauſe of their being condemned as evil doers by the World. God is my record, that in theſe things, for which Sentence of Death hath paſſed againſt me, I have a good Conſcience: I bleſs God, they are not matters of Complyance with Sectaries, or Deſignes or Practices againſt His Majeſt. Perſon or Government, or the Perſon or Government of His Royal Father: My heart (I bleſs God) is conſcious unto no Diſloalty; Nay, Loyal I have been, and I commend it unto you to be Loyal and obedient in the Lord. True Piety is the foundation of True Loyalty: A wicked man may be a flatterer and a Time-ſerver, but he will never be a Loyal Subject. But to return to my purpoſe, the matters for which I am condemned, are matters belonging to my Calling and Function as a Miniſter of the Goſpel, ſuch as the Diſcovery and Reproving of Sin; The preſſing the holding faſt of the Oath of God in the Covenant, and preſerving and carrying on the

Work of Religion and Reformation according thereto; And Denying to acknowledge the Civil Magiſtrat as the *Proper Competent Iudge in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical*: That in all theſe things which (God ſo ordering by His gracious Providence) are the grounds of my Inditement and Death, I have a good Conſcience, as having walked therein according to the Light and Rule of God's Word, and as did become a Miniſter of the Goſpel.

I do alſo bleſs the Lord, that I do not die as *one not deſired*. I know that by not a few I neither have been nor am deſired. It hath been my lot to have been a man of Contention and Sorrow: But it is my comfort, that for my own things I have not contended, but for the things of Jeſus Chriſt, for what relateth to His Intereſt and Work, and the well being of His People. In order to the preſerving and promoting of theſe, I did Proteſt againſt, and ſtood in Oppoſition unto theſe late Aſſemblies at *St Andrewes*, *Dundee* and *Edinburgh*; aud the Publick Reſolutions for bringing the Malignant Party into the Judicatories and Armies of this Kingdom, conceaving the ſame contrary to the Word of God, and to our Solemn Covenants and Engagements; and to be an inlet to Defection, and to the Ruine and deſtruction of the Work of God. And it is now manifeſt to many conſciences, that I have not been therein miſtaken; nor was not fighting againſt a man of ſtraw. I was alſo deſirous and did uſe ſome poor Endeavours to have the Church of God purged of Inſufficient and Scandalous and Corrupt Miniſters and Elders; for theſe things I have been miſtaken by ſome, and hated by others: But I bleſs the Lord, as I had the teſtimony of my own Conſcience; ſo I was and am therein approven, in the conſciences of many

of

of the Lord's precious Servants and People; and how little ſoever I may die Deſired by ſome, yet by theſe I know I do die Deſired, and their approbation, and prayers, and affection is of more value with me, then the Contradiction, or Reproach, or Hatred of many others; the love of the one I cannot Recompence, and the miſtake, or hatred, or reproach of the other; I do with all my heart Forgive; and wherein I have offended any of them, do beg their mercy and forgiveneſs. I do from my ſoul wish that my death may be profitable unto both, that the one may be confirmed and eſtabliſhed in the ſtraight wayes of the Lord, and that the other (if the Lord ſo will) may be convinced, & ceaſe from theſe things that are not good, & do not Edify but Deſtroy.

One thing I would warn yow all of, that God is wroth, yea very wroth with *Scotland*, and threatneth to depart and remove His candleſtick: The cauſes of his wrath are many, and would to God it were not One great cauſe, that Cauſes of Wrath are deſpiſed and rejected of men. Conſider the caſe that is recorded *Ier.* 36. and the conſequence of it, and tremble and fear. I cannot but alſo ſay, that there is a great addition and increaſe of wrath. 1. By that deludge of Prophanity that overfloweth all the Land, and hath reins looſed unto it every where, in ſo far that many have loſt not only all uſe and exerciſe of Religion, but even of Morality, and that common Civility that is to be found amongſt the Heathen. 2. By that horrible Treachery and Perjury that is in the matter of the Covenant, and Cauſe of God, and Work of Reformation: *Be aſtonished, O ye Heavens at this, and be horribly afraid, be ye very deſolate, ſaith the Lord; for my People have committed two evils, they have*

*forſaken*

*forsaken me the fountain of living waters, & hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water: Shall he break the Covenant, and prosper? Shal the throne of iniquity have fellowship with God, which frameth mischief by a Law?* I fear the Lord be about to bring a *Sword* on these Lands, which shall avenge the quarrell of His Covenant. 3. Horrible Ingratitude: The Lord after 10 years oppression& bondage hath broken the yoke of Strangers from off our necks; but what do we render unto Him for this goodness? Most of the fruit of our delivery is to work wickedness, and to strengthen our Selves to do evill. 4. A most dreadful Idolatry, and sacrificing to the Creature: We have changed the glory of the Incorruptible God, into the image of a corruptible Man, in whom many have placed almost all their Salvation and desire, and have turned that which might have been a Blessing unto us (being kept in a due line of Subordination under God) into an Idol of Jealousy, by preferring it before him. God is also wroth with a generation of Carnal, Corrupt, Time-serving Ministers: I know and bear testimony that in the Church of *Scotland*, there is a True and Faithful Ministry: Blessed be God, we have yet many who study their duty, and desire to be found faithful to their Lord and Master; And I pray you to Honor, and Reverence, and Esteem much of these for their Works sake: And I pray them to be encouraged in their Lord and Master, who is with them to make them as iron-pillars, and brazen walls, and as a strong defenced city in the faithful following of their duty: But oh! that there were not too many who mind Earthly things, and are enemies to the cross of Jesus Christ, who push with the side and shoulder, who strengthen the hands of evill doers,

doers, who make themselves transgressors, by stu studying to build again what they did formerly *warrantably* destroy, I mean PRELACY, and the CEREMONIES, and the SERVICE-BOOK, a Mystery of iniquity that works amongst us, whose steps lead unto the house of the great Whore, BABYLON, the Mother of fornications: Or whosoever else he be that buildeth this *Jericho* again, let him take heed of the curse of *Hiel* the *Bethelite*, and of that flying roll thereatened *Zech.* 5. And let all Ministers take heed that they Watch, and be Stedfast in the Faith, and quit themselves like men, and be strong; and give faithful and seasonable Warning concerning Sin and Duty. Many of the Lords People do sadly complain of the fainting and silence of many Watchmen; And it concerneth them to consider what God calleth for at their hands in such a day: Silence now in a Watchman, when he is so much called to speak, and give his Testimony upon the Peril of his life, is doubtless a great Sin. The Lord open the mouths of His Servants to speak his word with all boldness, that Covenant-breaking may be discovered and reproved, and that the Kingdom of Jesus Christ may not be supplanted, nor the souls of His People destroyed without a witness. I have but a few words moe to adde: All that are Profane amongst you, I exhort them to Repentance, for the day of the Lord's vengeance hasteneth and is near: But there is yet a door of mercy open for you, if ye will not despise the day of salvation. All that are Maligners, and Reproachers, and Persecuters of Godliness, and of such as live godly, take heed what ye do, it will be hard for you to kick against the Pricks; You make your selves the Butt of the Lord's fury, and his flaming indignation, if ye do not

cease

ceaſe from and repent of all your ungodly deeds. All that are Neutral, and Indifferent, and Lukewarm Profeſſors, be zealous and repent; leſt the Lord ſpew you out of His mouth. You that lament after the Lord, and mourn for all the abominations that are done in this City, and in the Land, and take pleaſure in the ſtones and duſt of *Zion*, caſt not away your confidence, but be comforted and encouraged in the Lord. He will yet appear to your joy; God hath not caſt away his People nor work in *Britain* and *Ireland*: I hope it ſhall once more Revive by the Power of His Spirit, and take root downward and bear fruit upward. There is yet a Holy Seed and precious Remnant, whom God will preſerve and bring forth: but how Long or Dark, our Night may be, I do not know; the Lord ſhorten it for the ſake of his Choſen. In the mean while, be ye patient & ſtedfaſt, immoveable, alwayes abounding in the work of the Lord, & in love one to another: Beware of Snares which are ſtrawed thick: Cleave to the Covenant & Work of Reformation: Do not decline the Croſs of Jeſus Chriſt; chooſe rather to ſuffer Affliction with the People of God, then to enjoy the pleaſurs of ſin for a ſeaſon; and account the Reproach of Chriſt greater riches then all the Treaſure of the World. Let my Death grieve none of you, it will be more profitable and advantageous both for me, and for you, and for the Church of God, and for Chriſts intereſt and honor, then my life could have been. I forgive all men the guilt of it, and I deſire you to do ſo alſo: Pray for them that perſecute you, and bleſs them that curſe you, bleſs I ſay, and curſe not. I die in the Faith of the Apoſtles and Primitive Chriſtians, & Proteſtant Reformed Churches, particularly of the Church of *Scotland*, where-

of

of I am a member and Miniſter. I bear my witneſs and Teſtimony to the Doctrine, Worship, Diſcipline and Government of the Church of *Scotland*, by Kirk-Seſſions, Presbyteries, Synods and Generall Aſſemblies. Popery and Prelacy, and all the trumpery of Service and Ceremonies that wait upon them, I do abhor. I do bear my witneſs unto the National Covanant of *Scotland*, and Solemn League and Covenant betwixt the three Kingdoms of *Scotland*, *England* and *Ireland*: Theſe Sacred, Solemn, Publick Oaths of God, I believe can be looſed nor diſpenſed with, by no Perſon, or Party, or Power upon earth: but are ſtill binding upon theſe Kingdoms, and will be for ever hereafter; and are ratifyed and ſealed by the converſion of many thouſand ſouls, ſince our entering thereinto. I bear my witneſs to the Proteſtation againſt the controverted Aſſemblies and the Publick Reſolutions; to the Teſtimonies given againſt the Sectaries; againſt the courſe of Backſliding and Defection that is now on foot in the Land, and all the branches and parts thereof, under whatſoever name or notion, or acted by whatſoever party or perſon. And in the laſt place, I bear my witneſs to the croſs of Jeſus Chriſt; and that I never had cauſe nor have cauſe this day, to repent becauſe of any thing I have ſuffered, or can now ſuffer for His Name: I take God to record upon my ſoul, I would not exchange this ſcaffold, with the Palace or Mitre of the greateſt prelate in Brittain. Bleſſed be God, who hath shewed mercy to ſuch a wretch, and hath revealed His Son in me, and made me a Miniſter of the Everlaſting Goſpel, and that He hath daigned in the midſt of much contradiction from Sathan and the World, to ſeal my Miniſtry upon the hearts of not a few of His People, and eſpecially

cially in the ſtation wherein I was laſt, I mean the Congregation, and Presbytery of *Sterlin*. God forgive the poor empty Man, that did there intrude upon my labors, and hath made a prey of many poor ſouls, and expoſed others to reproach, and oppreſſion, and a famine of the Word of the Lord. God forgive the miſleaders of that part of the poor people, who tempted them to reject their own Paſtor, and to admit of Intruders; and the Father of mercies, pity that poor Miſled people: And the Lord viſit the Congregation and Presbytery of *Sterlin* once more with faithful Paſtors; and grant that the Work and People of God may be revived thorow all *Britain*, and over all the World. Jeſus Chriſt is my Light, and my Life, my Righteouſneſs, my Strength and my Salvation: He is all my Salvation, and all my Deſire. Him, O Him I do with all the ſtrength of my ſoul commend unto you. Bleſſed are they that are not offended in Him: Bleſſed are they that Truſt in Him. Bleſs Him, O my ſoul, from henceforth even for ever. Rejoyce, rejoice all ye that love Him; be patient and rejoice in tribulation: Bleſſed are you, and bleſſed ſhall you be for ever and ever. Everlaſting Righteouſneſs aud Eternal Salvation is yours: All are yours, and ye are Chriſts, and Chriſt is Gods. Remember me O Lord with the favour thow beareſt to thy People; O viſit me with thy Salvation, that I may ſee the good of thy choſen, that I may rejoice in the gladneſs of thy Nation, that I may glory with thy Inheritance. *Now let thy ſervant depart in peace ſince mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.*

JA. GUTRHIE.

# The laſt Speech and Teſtimony of the LORD WARISTON, At his Death in *Edinburgh*, July 22. 1663.

*Right Honourable, much honoured, and beloved Auditors and Spectators:*

THat which I intended and prepared to have ſpoken at this time & in this condition, immediatly before my death (if it ſhould be ſo ordered that it ſhould be my lot) is not at preſent in my power, having been taken from me: But I hope the Lord ſhall preſerve it to bear my Teſtimony more fully and clearly, then now I can in this condition, having my Memory much deſtroyed, through much ſore and long Sickneſs, Melancholy, and exceſſive drawing of my Blood. Though I bleſs the Lord my God, that notwithſtanding of the forementioned diſtempers, I am in ſome capacity to leave this short and weak Teſtimony.

I deſire in the *firſt* place to confeſs my Sins, ſo far as is proper to this Place and Caſe, and to acknowledge Gods Mercies; and to expreſs my Repentance of the one, and my Faith of the other, through the merits of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt our gracious Redeemer and Mediator: I confeſs that my Natural Temper (or rather diſtemper) hath been Haſty and Paſſionat; and that in my Manner of going about and proſecuting of the beſt pieces of work and ſervice to the Lord and to my Generation, I have been ſubject to my exceſſes of Heat, and thereby to ſome Precipitations, which hath no doubt offended ſtanders by and lookers on, and

hath exposed both Me and the Work to their mistakes, whereby the beauty of that Work hath been obscured: Neither have I in following of the Lord's work, His Good Work, been without my own Self-seeking; which hath severall wayes vented is self to the offence of both God and Man, and to the grief thereafter of my own Conscience, and which hath often made me groan, and cry out with the Apostle, *O miserable man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?* And to ly low in the dust mourning and lamenting over the same, deprecating God's wrath, and begging His tender Mercies to Pardon, and His powerful Grace to cure all these evils. I must withal confess, that it doth not a litle trouble me, and ly heavy upon my spirit, and will bring me down with sorrow to the grave (though I was not alone in this Offence, but had the body of the Nation going before me, and the Example of persons of all Ranks to insnare me) That I suffered my self through the power of temptations, and the too much fear anent the straits that my numerous Family might be brought into, to be carried unto so great a length of Complyance in *England* with the late Usurpers, which did much grieve the hearts of the Godly, and made these that sought God ashamed and confounded for my sake, and did give no small occasion to the Adversary to reproach and blaspheme, and did withall not a litle obscure and darken the beauty of severall former Actings about His blessed and glorious Work of Reformation, happily begun and far advanced in these Lands, wherein He was graciously pleased to Employ, and by Employing to Honour me to be an Instrument (though the least and unworthiest of many) whereof I am not ashamed this day, but account it my Glory, how ever that Work

be

be now cried down, oppoſed, laid in the duſt and trod upon: And my turning aſide to comply with theſe men, was the more aggravated in my perſon, that I had ſo frequently and ſeriouſly made profeſſion of my Averſneſs from and Abhorrence of that way, and had shown much Diſſatisfaction with theſe that had not gone ſo great a length; for which as I ſeek God's mercy in Chriſt Jeſus, ſo I deſire that all the Lord's People, from my example may be more ſtirred up to watch and pray, that they enter not into temptation.

2. I do not deny on the other hand, but muſt Teſtify in the *ſecond* place, to the Glory of His Free-grace; that the Lord my God hath often shewed and engraven upon my Conſcience, the Teſtimony of His Reconciling and Reconciled Mercy through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, pardoning all my iniquities, and aſſuring me that He would deliver me alſo by the graces of His Holy Spirit, from the ſpait, tyranny and dominion thereof; And hath often drawn out my ſpirit to the exerciſe of Repentance and Faith, and after engraven upon my heart in legible characters His merciful pardon, and gracious begun cure thereof to be perfected thereafter, to the Glory of His Name, the Salvation of my Soul, and Edification of His Church.

3. I am preſſed in conſcience to leave here at my death, my true & honeſt Teſtimony in the ſight of God and Man, to and for *the Nationall Covenant: the Solemn League & Covenant; the Solemn Acknowledgement of our Sins, & Engagement to our duties;* to all the *grounds & Cauſes of Faſts* and humiliations, & of the *Lords diſpleaſure* & contending with the Land; And to the ſeveral *Teſtimonies* given to His Intereſts, by Generall Aſſemblies, Commiſſioners of the Kirk,

Presbyteries, and by other honeſt and faithful Miniſters and Profeſſors.

4. I am preſſed alſo to encourage His Doing, Suffering & Witneſſing People, and Sympathizing ones with theſe that ſuffer, that they would continue in the duties of Mourning, Praying, Witneſſing and Symparthizing with theſe that ſuffer; and humbly to aſſure them in the Name of the Lord our God, the God of His own Word and Work, of His own Cauſe, Covenant and People, that He will be Seen, Found and Felt (in His own gracious Way and Time, by His own Means & Inſtruments, for His own Glory & Honor) to return to His own Truths and Intereſts and Servants, and revive His Name, His Covenant, His Word, His Work, His Sanctuary and His Saints in theſe Nations, even in the three Covenanted Nations, which were by ſo Solemn Bonds, Covenants, Subſcriptions and Oaths, given away and devoted unto Himſelf.

5. I exhort all theſe that have been, or are Enemies or unfreinds to the Lord's Name, Covenant or Cauſe, Word, Work or People, in *Britain* and *Ireland*, to Repent and Amend, before theſe ſad judgements that are poſting faſt come upon them, for their ſinning ſo highly againſt the Lord, becauſe of any temptation of the Time on the right or left hand, by Baits or Straits whatſoever, and that after ſo many Profeſſions and Engagements to the contrary.

6. I dare not conceal from yow that are Friendly to all the Lord's Intereſts, that the Lord (to the commendation of His Grace, be it humbly ſpoken) hath ſeverall times, in the exerciſe of my Repentance and Faith during my trouble, and after groans and tears upon theſe three notable chapters, to wit, the 9 of

*Ezra*, the 9 of *Nehemiah*, and the 9 of *Daniel*, with other ſuch ſutable Scriptures, and in the very nick of fervent and humble Supplication to Him, for the Reviving again of His Name, Cauſe, Covenant, Word, and Work of Reformation in theſe Covenanted Nations, and particularly in poor *Scotland*, which firſt ſolemnly engaged to Him, to the good Example and Encouragement of His People in the other two Nations to do the ſame alſo, That the Lord, I ſay, hath ſeveral times given to me good ground of hope and lively expectations of His Merciſull, Gracious, Powerful and Wonderful Renewing and Reviving again of His fore-mentioned great Intereſts in theſe Covenanted Nations: And that in ſuch a Way, by ſuch Means and Inſtruments, with ſuch Antecedents, Concurrents, Conſequents, and Effects, as ſhall wonderfully rejoyce His Mourning Friends, and aſtonish His Contradicting and counter-acting Enemies.

7. I do earneſtly recommend my poor Wife and Children and th[illegible] poſterity, to the choiceſt Bleſſings of God, an[illegible] the Prayers and Favour of all the Lord's Children an Servants, in their earneſt dealing with God and Men in their behalf, That they may not be ruined for [illegible]y Cauſe, but for the Lord my God's ſake, they [illegible]e favoured, aſſiſted, ſupplyed and comforted, a[illegible] ſo may be fitted by the Lord for His Fellowſhip and Service; whom God Himſelf hath moved me often, in their own Preſence, and with their own Conſent, to dedicate, devote and reſign alike and as well, as I devote and reſign my own Soul and Body to Him for all Time and Eternity.

8. I beg the Lord to open the eyes of all the Inſtruments of my Trouble, that are not deadly Irreconcileable Enemies to Himſelf and His People, that they may ſee the wrong done by them to His Intereſts and People, and to Me and Mine, and may repent thereof and return to the Lord, and may more cordially own and adhere to all His Intereſts in time coming: The good Lord give unto them Repentance, Remiſſion and Amendement; and that is the worſt wish I wish them, and the beſt wish I can wish unto them.

9. I do earneſtly beg the fervent prayers of all His Praying People, Servants and Inſtruments, whether abſent or preſent wherever they be, in behalf of His Name, Cauſe and Covenant, Work and People; and in behalf of my Wife, Children and their Poſterity: And that the Lord would glorify Himſelf, edify His Church, encourage His Saints, further His Work, accomplish His good Word, by all His Doings and Dealings, in Subſtance and Circumſtance toward all His own.

10. Whereas I have heard that ſome of my unfreinds have ſlandered and defamed my Name, as if I had been acceſſary to his late Majeſtie's death, and to the making of the Change of the Government thereupon; the great God of Heaven be witneſs and Judge between Me and my Accuſers in this; for I am free (as I ſhall now anſwer before his Tribunal) from any Acceſſion by Counſel or Contrivance, or any other way to his late Majeſtie's death, or to their making that change of Government: And I pray the Lord to preſerve our preſent King his Majeſty, and to pour out His beſt bleſſings upon his royall Poſterity, and to give unto them good and faithfull Counſellors, holy and wiſe

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Counſels and proſperous ſucceſſes, to God's Glory and to the good and intereſt of His people, and to Their own Honour and Happineſs.

11. I do here now ſubmit and commit my Soul and Body, Wife and Children and Childrens Children from generation to generation for ever, with all others his Friends and Followers, all His Doing and Suffering, Witneſſing and Sympathizing ones, in the preſent and ſubſequent Generations, unto the Lord's choice Mercies, Graces, Favours, Services, Employments, Impowerments, Enjoyments, Improvements and Inheritments, on Earth and in Heaven, in Time and Eternity. All which ſuits with all others, which He hath at any time by His Spirit moved and aſſiſted me to make and put up, according to His will, I leave before and upon the Father's Merciſull Bowels, and the Son's Mediating Merits, and the Holy Spirit's Compaſſionate Groans, for now and evermore. *Amen.*

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## The Joint Teſtimony of theſe who died together in *Edinburgh*, Dec. 7. 1666. ſubſcribed by them in priſon, the ſame day of their death.

*Men and Brethren.*

THis is a great and important work, both for us who are now to render up our ſpirits to Him that gave them; And for yow who are not a litle concerned in the Cauſe, and in our blood by juſtifying or condemning our ſentence: And therefore, as we ſpeak

to yow as Dying men, who dare not diſſemble with God or man, nor flatter our ſelves; So ye ſhould not be idle, curious, or unconcerned Spectators.

We are condemned by men, and eſteemed by many as Rebels againſt the King (whoſe Authority we acknowledge) But this is our rejoycing, the teſtimony of our conſcience, that we ſuffer not as Evill doers, but for Righteouſneſs, for the Word of God, and Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt; And particularly for our renewing the Covenant, and in purſuance thereof, for Preſerving and Defending of our ſelves by Armes, againſt the Uſurpation and inſupportable Tyranny of the Prelats; And againſt the moſt unchriſtian and inhumane Oppreſſion and Perſecution, that ever was enjoyned and practiſed by juſt Rulers, upon Free, Innocent and Peaceable Subjects.

The Covenant and Cauſe being ſo juſt in themſelves, and the duties of Self-preſervation and mutual Defence in maintenance thereof, being to Judicious and unbyaſſed men ſo clear, we need to ſay the leſs for vindication of our Practice: Only, the Lawes eſtabliſhing Prelacy, and the Acts, Orders and Proclamations made for Complyance therewith, being executed againſt us by Military Force and Violence; And we with others, for our ſimple Forbearance, being Fined, Confined, Impriſoned, Exiled, Scourged, Stigmatized, Beaten, Bound as beaſts, and Driven unto the mountains for our lives; And thereby hundreds of Families being beggared, ſeveral Parishes and ſome whole Country-ſides exceedingly impoveriſhed; And all this, either Arbitrarily and without any Law, or reſpect had to guilt or innocency; Or Unjuſtly contrary to all Conſcience, Juſtice and Reaſon, though under the Pretence of iniquous Laws;

and

and without regard had to the penalty ſpecifyed in the Law: And all Remonſtrating of Grievances (were they never ſo juſt and many) and Petitions for Redreſs, being reſtrained by Laws condemning all former Remonſtrances and Petitions in the like caſes; There was no other remedy left to us, but that laſt of neceſſary Self-preſervation and Defence. And this being one of the greateſt Principles of Nature, warranted by the Law of God, Scriptural Inſtances, and the conſent and Practices of all Reformed Churches and Chriſtian States abroad, and of our own famous Predeceſſors at home, It cannot in reaſon or Juſtice, be reputed a Crime, nor condemned as Rebellion by any humane Authority.

Though we be not the firſt that have ſuffered for the Cauſe of God within the Land, yet we are among the firſt that have been Legally condemned and put to Death Expreſly for taking the Covenant: And we are ſo far from being ashamed thereof, that we account it our honour to be reckoned worthy to ſuffer for ſuch a Cauſe; And cannot but bleſs the Lord, that we have ſuch a cloud of Witneſſes, in this and other Reformed Churches, going before us in the ſame duty for Subſtance, and in Suffering therefore.

We cannot but regret (if we could with tears of blood) the Nationall and Authorized Backſliding of the Land, by Perjury and breach of Covenant; The overturning of the Work of Reformation; The great Deſolation of the Houſe of the Lord, by ſmiting of the Shepherds and ſcattering of the Flocks; The Intruſion of ſo many mercenary Hirelings into the Miniſtry, who becauſe of Apoſtacy, Perjury, Ignorance and Profanneſs, can neither be acknowledged as God's mouth to the People in Preaching, nor employed as their mouth to Him in Prayer; The abounding of

Popery, Superſtition, and Profanneſs by unheard-of Oaths, Blaſphemies, Uncleanneſſs and Drinking, even in ſome whoſe Office and Place requireth them to be more Examplary; And the ſhedding of the Blood of the Saints by the rage of Perſecution: And therefore we cannot but diſown all theſe abominable Laws, Courſes & Practices, & declare our abhorrence of the ſame, & diſſent therefrom; Proteſting before Angels and Men, that we be not interpreted as conſenters thereto, and beſeeching the Hearer of prayer, that we be not involved in the guilt thereof, nor partake of the plagues which follow thereupon.

As this Land was happy above all Nations, for the purity and plenty of the Goſpel, and for a Form of Church Government more conform to the Patern in the Scriptures, then in others of the Reformed Churches; So we acknowledge His great goodneſs to us in ſpeciall, that gave us our lines in ſuch pleaſant places: For we have ſuch full perſwaſion of the Truth of the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, And have felt ſo much of the Power and Sweetneſs thereof, that we do here declare our firm belief and perſwaſion of, and adherence to the ſame, in Doctrine, Worship, Diſcipline and Government, according to the *Nationall Covenant*, *the Solemn League and Covenant*, *the Confeſſion of Faith*, *Catechiſms*, *Directory of worship*, *and Propoſitions for Government*; Accounting it our honor and happineſs to have been born in it, to have lived in Communion with it, and now to die (through Grace) Members, Witneſſes and Aſſerters thereof.

And further as Chriſtians and as Members of the ſame Church and Common-wealth; in the Fear and zeal

zeal of our God, in Love to our Brethren, in desire of the Perservation of Church and Kingdom, and for our own Exoneration, now when we take our leave of the World, We do seriously and in the bowels of Christ, Supplicate, Warn, Exhort and Obtest yow all the Inhabitants of the Kingdom, from the King to the meanest of the Subjects, according to your old Principles, Professions, Promises, Declarations, Oaths and Covenants, faithfully to Own, Maintain, preserve and Defend the said Religion; And after the example of our Noble and Renowned Ancestors to quit your selves like Men & Christians, in endeavouring by all just Means, according to your Places and Powers, to shake off this heavy yoke of PRELACY, which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, & which is Destructive to all our true Interests, Religious and Civill; As ye would not involve your selves in the guilt and plagues of Perjury and Breach of Covenant; And as you tender the good of your own Names, Persons, Estates, Families and Liberties, as well as of your immortal Souls; And as ye would partake of the good of God's chosen, and of our joyes, when ye come so near Eternity as we are.

We shall say no more, but as we were not afraid to take our lives in our hands, so we are not afraid to lay them down in this Cause; And as we are not ashamed of Christ because of His cross, so we would not have you offended in Christ nor discouraged because of us: For we bear you record, that we would not exchange lots with our Adversaries; nor redeem our Lives, Liberties and Fortunes, at the price of Perjury and breach of Covenant.

And further we are assured, though this be the day of *Iacob's* trouble, that yet the Lord, when He hath ac-

accomplished the Triall of His own, and filled up the cup of His Adverſaries, He will awake for judgement, plead His own Cauſe, avenge the quarrel of His Covenant, make inquiry for blood, vindicate His People, break the arm of the wicked, and eſtablish the juſt; For to Him belongeth judgement and vengeance: And though our eyes ſhall not ſee it, yet we believe that the Sun of Righteouſneſs ſhall ariſe with healing under His wings; & that He will revive His Work, repair the breaches, build the old waſtes, and raiſe up the deſolations; Yea *the Lord will judge His people, & repent Himſelf for His ſervants, when their power is gone, and there is none ſhut up or left: And therefore, Rejoyce, O ye Nations, with His People: For He will avenge the blood of His ſervants, and will render vengeance to His adverſaries, and He will be merciful to His Land and People. So let thy Enemies periſh O Lord; but let them that love Him, be as the Sun when He goeth forth in His might.*

Sic ſubſcribitur.

*John McCulloch* of *Barholm.*
*And. Arnot.*
*John Gordon of Knockbrex.*
*Robert Gordon his Brother.*
*John Roſs.*
*John Schields*
*James Hamilton.*
*John Parker in Bosby.*
*Chriſtopher Strang.*
*Gawin Hamilton.*

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Another

## Another Teſtimony which was alſo left by ſuch of the Former ten Perſons, as were in the ſame Chamber with *Thomas Paterſon* Merchant in *Glaſgow*; who, being in like manner Indited but dying of his Wounds before Sentence, did communicate the ſame to his friends, with his Aſſent thereunto.

MEn and Brethren, being condemned by our Rulers as Traitors, leſt we ſhould ſeem to many to ſuffer as evill doers, In the firſt place, we bleſs and praiſe the Lord our God, who hath made us (the unworthieſt of all men) Worthy to be faithfull to Him, who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and in ſimplicity and godly Sincerity, ſingly to mind his glory; and who alſo maketh the croſs of Chriſt (though by men ſuperſcribed with Treaſon) our ſweet conſolation, and his own joy our ſtrength.

2. We declare in the preſence of the ſame God, before whom we are now ready to appear, that we did not intend to Rebell againſt the King and his juſt Authority, Whom as we acknowledg for our Lawful Soveraign; ſo we do earneſtly pray in his behalf, that God would open his eyes and Convert his heart, that he may remember his Vowes made unto God, relieve this oppreſſed Kirk, and long reign and flourish in righteouſneſs.

3. We declare, that perceaving the Holy Covenants of our God broken, the Work of the Lord overturned, the Goſpel and Kingdome of Jeſus Chriſt deſpiſed

deſpiſed and trampled upon, his pure Ordinances corrupted, his faithful and our ſoul-refreshing Miniſters caſt out, and the Land filled with Perjury and Profanity, and like to be hurried back to that gulf of Ignorance, Superſtition and Confuſion, whence the Lord did ſo gloriouſly deliver us; And finding our ſelves not only Spoiled of our moſt precious bleſſings, and moſt dear enjoyments, but urged and compelled by cruel Violence and Barbarous Perſecution to wicked Apoſtacy from our Holy Covenants, and to Rebellion againſt our God; And all this done by no other hand then the wicked and perjured Prelats; And for no other ends (whatever they may pretend) then the ſatisfying of their own vile luſts, and eſtabliſhing their ſo often abjured Antichriſtian Tyranny, over both Souls and Bodies of Men; And laſtly finding former Petitions condemned as Seditious, and our private complaints (when but muttered) inſolently rejected, We did in the fear and Zeal of our God, and by the warrant of his Holy Word, according to the firſt and moſt Innocent inſtinct of pure Nature, and the Practice of all People and Perſons in the like caſe; And after the Example of all the oppreſſed Kirks of Jeſus Chriſt, and of our Noble Anceſtors, take the Sword of Neceſſary Self-defence, from the rage and fury of theſe wicked & violent Men, until we might make our heavy Grievances known to his Majeſty, and obtain from his Juſtice a ſatisfying remedy.

We will not now mention our particular Sufferings, nor the ſighes and groans of poor waſted *Galloway*, which though very heavy from the hand of man, are all to light for Jeſus Chriſt; Nor are we willing to reflect upon theſe grievous and bitter Lawes and Edicts, by which they ſeem to be warranted: Only

we

we know that God is Righteous, whoſe Lawes and judgments are Superior and above all the Lawes and Actions of men. And to him who will judge righteouſly, We intirly Commit our Cauſe, which is none other, then the Reviving of the Work of God and Renewing of his Covenant: Which though it pleaſed the Holy and Wiſe God, not to favour with Succeſs in the field, and though by men it be made our Condemnation, yet it is our Righteouſneſs) Innocency and Confidence in his ſight. And all praiſe and thanks be unto our God, who not only kept us ſtedfaſt in his Covenant, and made us Willing and Ready to adventure our Lives for His Name; but hath alſo accepted and dignifyed our Offer, with this publick Appearance: Where, in his own glorious preſence before whom we ſhall inſtantly appear, and before our often Sworn and once Zealous and tender Brethren in the ſame Cauſe, and in midſt of Thee O *Edinburgh*, once famous for the Glory and Zeal of God and of this Covenant, we may give and Seal this our Teſtimony with our blood.

We therefore the unworthieſt of all the Faithful, do in the Spirit of God and Glory, Teſtify and Seal with our Blood and Lives, that both the *National Covenant* and *Solemne League and Covenant* are in Themſelves Holy, Juſt, and True, and perpetually Binding, containing no other thing, then our Indiſpenſable Obligations to all Duties of Religion and Righteouſneſs, according to the revealed Will of God, which no Authority nor Power of Man, is or ever ſhall be able to diſannul; And that our bleſſed Reformations both from Popery and Prelacy, and all that was done or enſued, in the ſincere and upright proſecution thereof, was and is the Work of God, which though Men

ſight

fight against, yet shall they never be able to prevail: And as this is our Faith, so it is our Hope to all that wait for the Salvation of God, that Our God will surely appear for his own Glory, and vindicate his Cause and persecuted People, and render vengeance to his Adversaries even the vengeance of his Holy Temple and broken Covenent. O be not then moved with our Sufferings with are but Light and Momentany, for they Work for us a far more, exeeeding and Eternal weight of Glory, and for you also a strong Confirmation and abounding Consolation, against the like trial that possibly may befal you. O then save your selves from this Wicked and Apostat Generation, and be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the Work and Cause of the Lord; Waiting for the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in his Times he shall shew, who only hath Immortality, dwelling in the Light which no man can approach, whom no man hath seen, or can see, to whom be honour and Power everlasting. AMEN.

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# The Testimony of CAPT. ANDREW ARNOT, one of the former ten who died.

Decem. 7.

DEar Friends and Spectators, I am brought by the good providence of God to this publick place of execution (which is no dishonour) for points of Treason, as is alleadged; but God knoweth (who knoweth

knoweth the ſecrets of hearts) whether in Rebellion or not; I cam forth: He is my witneſs & wil be my Judge. And whoever they be that any way have been inſtrumentall or incenſed againſt me to procure this Sentence againſt me, God forgive them, & I forgive them. I am not now purpoſed to diſput the matter of my being in company with theſe worthy Chriſtians who are now defeat and broken, their blood shed, and they deſpitfully mocked by many: I acknowledge and declare that I was with them. As to the cauſe of my being with them, whither in Rebellion or not God knoweth, and all *Iſrael* shall know. And for me, I ſay the Cauſe is the Lords, who made the Heaven and the Earth, though now it be hated. And I deſire to bear witneſs (with the reſt of the worthy witneſſes, who are gone before and are now ſtaged) to that glorious Work of Reformation in *Britain* and *Ireland*, and to Goſpel-Ordinances in their Purity, as they have been taught and adminiſtrated theſe 30 Years laſt by paſt, And I adhere to the Presbyterial way of Doctrin, Worship, Diſcipline, and Government, by Generall Aſſemblies, Synods, Presbyteries, and Seſſions, according to the Patern of the holy Scriptures (Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the head Corner-ſtone) the Confeſſion of faith, Cathechiſmes Shorter and Larger, Directory for Worship, National Covenant, Solemne League & Covenant, & every Paper tending to the good of the true Religion. And this I think fit to Teſtify & Declare under my hand (not knowing if I shall have any Liberty to ſpeak,) & intend, God willing, to Seal with my Blood shortly. I confeſs that unexpectedly I am come to this place, (though ſome times I have had ſome ſmall thoughts of it) And I do account my ſelf highly honoured to be reckoned amongſt the wit-

neſſes of Jeſus Chriſt, to ſuffer for his Name, Truth and Cauſe; and this day I eſteem it my Glory, Garland, Crown & royall dignity to fill up a part of His ſufferings. And now I take my leave of you all my dear and worthy Friends and acquaintances. The Bleſſings of the Eternall God be multiplied upon yow and your ſeed, and upon all the ſuffering Friends of Chriſt this day; upon my dear and loving Wife, who hath been a faithful ſympathizer with me, and upon my dear Children. The work of God is now at under, but Chriſt shall carry the Day: Bleſſed is he that believeth and ſeeth not, for there shall be a performance. Now the Eternall God, who brought again the Lord Jeſus Chriſt from the dead, the great sheepherd of the flock, ſtrengthen and eſtabliſh you and all the Lord's people. So pray ye and ſo prayeth your Friend. ANDREW ARNOT.

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# The Teſtimony of JOHN SHIELDS, Yeoman one of the former ten who died at *Edinburgh* the 7 day of Decemb. 1666.

I Am a man unlearned and not accuſtomed to ſpeak in publick, yet being now called to witneſs and ſuffer for the Lord in publick, I cannot be altogether ſilent of that which Religion and Reaſon hath taught me anent the cauſe of my ſuffering.

I bleſs the Lord, I ſuffer not as an evil doer, eſpecially not for any Rebellion againſt his Majeſties lawful

lawful Authority; I atteſt him who is the ſearcher of hearts, that was never my intention in the leaſt, and it is as litle the nature and intention of what I have done; But for renewing of the Covenant with the Lord, and following the ends thereof, as to the ſuppreſſing of abjured Prelats, and Intruders upon the Lords flock, and the reſtoring of the Government of the Houſe of God by Presbyteries as He himſelf hath appointed in his Word, with a faithful, Godly, Called, and Sent Miniſtery; And together with pure Ordinances, the Power of Godlineſs. For this I am condemned and to ſuffer this day. This I acknowledged freely before our Judges; This I ſtillacknowledg, and am perſuaded that herein I witneſs a faithful Confeſſion. This Cauſe and Covenant I commend to all the Lord's People. It is not free for you to forſake it; You are inviolably ingaged in it; It is not ſafe to deſert it, becauſe of the Curſe of the perjurer and falſe ſwearer. There is unſpeakable bleſſedneſs in the purſuance of it, whereof I can bear witneſs to the Lord by my rich Experience, ſince we began to Do and Suffer at this time for him: Whereupon I cheerfully lay doun my Life for this his Cauſe; He it is who Juſtifieth it, what man or Authority under heaven can condemn it? *Ariſe O Lord, let not man prevaill againſt Thee; plead and Iudg this Cauſe which is thine own, for thine own names ſake.*

## The Teſtimony of another of the former ten Perſons left ſubſcribed with a Friend.

I deſigned no Rebellion againſt lawful Authority, but the ſuppreſſing of Prelacy and of Profanity; and advancing of Holineſs in Gods World: In a Word, I adhere to all the Articles of the good Covenant, and did intend the reſtoring of our good aud Soul-refreshing Miniſters, and the caſting out of the dumb greedy Dogs that cannot bark. In this Cauſe I was a free Voluntier preſſed by none, thinking it my duty to appear for helping the Lord againſt the Mighty. This I teſtify under my hand from the *Tolbooth* of *Edinburgh*, the 6 of *December*, 1666.

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## The Teſtimony of Mr ALEXANDER ROBERTSON, Preacher of the Goſpel, and Probationer for the Miniſtry, who died at *Edinburgh*, Decemb. 14. 1666.

FEaring that after the example of others, I ſhould not be permitted to ſpeak openly to the People, I thought fit (beſide my adherence to what my brethren, who have gone before me, left behind them concerning our common Cauſe) to leave a word in writ for ſatisfaction of them who ſurvive me.

That, for preſervation & defence of the true Religion of this Church, and for the relief of my poor brethren afflicted & perſecuted therefore, I joyned with others in Armes, & that I renewed the Covenant, that all men might

might the better know my Cauſe and Principles, I am ſo far from denying or being ashamed of, that I both acknowledge and avow it as my duty; But let no man that will not condemn himſelf upon the ſame common obligations to do what I did, account me a Rebell therefore, becauſe with the ſame breath that I did ſwear, and with that ſame hand that I did ſubſcribe to preſerve and defend Religion, I did alſo ſwear to defend the King and his Authority.

Our Church was not more glorious in her ſelf & terrible to her Adverſaries, while we enjoyed pure Ordinances of Word and Sacraments, and her beautiful Aſſemblies for Government and Diſcipline, of the Lords own Inſtitution, then she became of late deformed by the Uſurpation and Tyranny of Prelacy; And I do ſolemnly declare as a dying man, who dare not diſſemble, that as I thought and ſtill averre that the erecting of this abjured Prelacy is the cauſe of much of the Sin in the Land, and of all the ſufferings of the Lords People therein: ſo I had no worſe deſign, then the reſtoring of the Work of Reformation according to the Covenant, and more particularly the extirpation of Prelacy, to which his Ma: and all the Subjects are as much obliged as I. And let that be removed and the Work of Reformation reſtored, and I dare die in ſaying, that his Ma: ſhall not have in all his Dominions, more loving, loyall, peaceable and faithfull Subjects, then theſe who for their non-complyance are loaded with the reproaches of Phanaticiſme and Rebellion.

The ſufferings and inſupportable oppreſſion of theſe that could not becaule of the Command and Oath of God, acknowledge & comply with Prelacy, may ſeem light to ſome, in whom the ſpirit of the old enmity

that is betwixt the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent remaineth, and to others (perhaps their Friends) who look thereupon at a distance; but as there is just reason to think that if these rigid oppressions had been made known to his Ma: his justice and clemency would have provided a remedy, and as the half thereof would have made the Prelats, their patrons and adherents impatiently mad, for as loyal as they pretend to be; So in the like cases of irresistible necessity, when there is little open door for representing of grievances and desires, and less hope of relief thereby, I suppose it will not be found condemned by the Confessions of Reformed Churches, or doctrine of sound Divines, but that it is authorized by the light and law of Nature, by uncondemned examples in the Holy Scripture, and by the practice of all Christian States, by Armes to preserve and defend men Lives, their Religion, Liberties and Fortunes; And especially, where they are not seeking to acquire a new Religion or new Liberties, but only to preserve their old or recover them, when they are violently & unjustly spoiled of the same, as in our case; Otherwise we should sin against the generation of the just, and condemn, as rebellious, the most of the through Reformations of the Reformed Churches abroad, and of our own at home.

If this course was lawfull, and if it was our duty to joyn therein, as I believe and lay down my life in the perswasion that it was; and if all the Kingdom was (as they are) bound by Covenant to assist and defend one another in the Common Cause of Religion and Liberty, whatever may be said of these that came not forth to help the Lord against the mighty, it cannot but be their dreadful sin, who joyned themselves in Armes,

or

or took Oaths to oppoſe, ſuppreſs and break it, ſeing they have ſided themſelves againſt the Lord and his Work, and their carriage is a much higher degree of Acceſſion to the blood that is shed, then *Paul's* keeping of the clothes of them that ſtoned *Stephen* to death; And I wish that they may lay the matter to heart and repent of it, that God may forgive them, as I forgive all men, and particularly *Morton* who did apprehend me.

I know that there is a holy ſeed in the Land, who shall be the ſubſtance thereof, and I pray that the Lord may make them more zealous and valiant for the truth upon earth; I know alſo that there are many, whoſe bowells of compaſſion have been drawn forth toward theſe who took their lives in their hands, by Prayers to God for them and Charity to them, and eſpecially in *Edinburgh* toward the poor Priſoners (of whom I may not only ſay, that what they have done deſerveth to be told for a Memorial wherever the Goſpel is preached, but am aſſuredly confident, that beſides the bleſſings of the poor and perſecuted, the Lord is not unrighteous to forget their work and labor of love, which they have shewed towards his Name, in that they have miniſtred to the Saints & do miniſter) And yet I muſt needs regret, that ſo many in this City once famous and honoured for harmonious owning of the Cauſe and Covenant of God, and bleſſed above many other Cities with ſolemn Aſſemblies for Worship and Government, should have been enſnared into an Oath ſo contradictory to the Oath of the Covenant; & which was deviſed, contrived and impoſed in lieu of the Declaration againſt the ſame. and for a Graveſtone to ſuppreſs the revival of the Work of God within this Land.

The Apoſtacy of this Land is very great by Perjury and breach of Covenant, and ſo much the worſe and more aggreageble, that it is Authorized and very univerſal: And as I cannot but regret that ſo many are inſnared therein, ſo I muſt needs warne all to abhorre and beware of all Declarations and Oaths contradictory to the Covenant and renunciatory thereof, as they would not involve themſelves in the guilt and plagues denounced againſt, and ordinarily inflicted upon Perjury and breach of Covenant; and ſo much the rather, becauſe this is like to be the *Shibboleth* and triall of the times.

As for my ſelf, I have ſeen and do find ſo much worth in Truth, which is to be bought at any rate but ſold at none, And ſo much tranſcendent excellency and amiableneſs in Chriſt, that not only with cheerfulneſs & confidence I lay down my life for Him and His Truth, committing my ſoul to Him to be kept in hope of a joyfull Reſurrection of the body; but alſo bleſs Him that gave me a life to loſe, and a body to lay down for Him; And although the Merket and price of Truth may appear to many very high, yet I reckon it low, and all that I have or can do, little and too little for Him who gave Himſelf for me and to me; for I account all things but loſs and dung for the excellency of the knowledge of Jeſus Chriſt MY LORD, for whom I now ſuffer the loſs of all things, that I may win Him, and be found in Him, and that I may not only know the fellowship of His ſufferings, but the power of His reſurrection, and attain unto the reſurrection of the dead.

And as for yow, my dear Friends, as I pray for

for you, that the God of all grace, who hath called us unto His eternall glory by Chriſt Jeſus, after ye have ſuffered a while, may make yow perfect, ſtablish, ſtrengthen and ſettle yow; ſo I recommend to you the ſame truth, that you be not ſoon shaken in mind, but that ye hold faſt the profeſſion of your faith without wavering; And as you have receaved the Lord, ſo walk in Him; Warning and obteſting you by all manner of obligations, and by the hope and joy of that crown which I wait for, that ye keep your ſelves unſpotted with the abominable courſes and practices of theſe times, whereunto ye may be tempted by the extremity of ſuffering; and particularly that ye beware of unlawfull Oaths and Declarations againſt the Cauſe and Covenant of God, that ye have no complyance with, nor give conſent unto this Prelacy, which ye have abjured; And that you be afraid and aware of Popery, which by Connivance doth ſo viſibly abound and dayly increaſe; But by fighting the good fight and keeping of the faith, you may finish your courſe, as I do, in the aſſurance of the crown of Righteouſneſs, which the Lord the righteous Judge, hath laid up and shall give unto me, and not to me only, but to all them that love His appearance.

ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

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# The Teſtimony of JOHN NILSON, Of *Corſack* who died at *Edinburgh*. Dec. 14. 1666.

BEing made a ſpectacle to the World, to Angels, and to Men, I found it neceſſary, for vindication of the Truth & of my ſelf, for undeceaving of ſome, & encouraging of others, to leave this line behind me, which with my innocent blood may ſpeak when I am gone.

I am condemned (I ſhall not ſay how unjuſtly) as a Rebell againſt Man, but the Lord God of Gods He knoweth, & all *Iſrael* ſhall know that it is not for Rebellion againſt God, but for endeavouring to recover the bleſſed work of Reformation, and particularly for endeavouring to extirpate Prelacy, which hath been the cauſe of ſo much ſin and ſuffering within this Land, and for renewing of the Covenant, from the obligation whereof (ſeing I made my Vow and Promiſe to the Lord) neither I my ſelf, nor any humane Authority can abſolve me. And if any account this Rebellion, I do plainly confeſs, that after the way which they call Hereſy, I worship the God of my fathers.

Although the inſupportable oppreſſion, under which I and many others did groan, were enough to juſtify our Preſerving and Defending of our ſelves by Armes, yet know that the Cauſe was not Ours but the Lord's; for we ſuffered all our grievous Oppreſſions not for evill-doing, but becauſe we could not in conſcience acknowledge, comply with and obey Prelacy, and ſubmit unto the Miniſtery of Ignorant, light

Light and Profane men, who were irregularly and violently thurſt upon us; Neither did we only or mainly deſigne our civil Liberties, but the Liberty of the Goſpel, the Extirpation of Prelacy, the Reſtauration of our faithful Paſtors, the Suppreſſion of Profanity, Promoving of Piety, the ſaving of our ſelves from unjuſt violence, untill we had preſented our Grievances and Deſires; And in a word, the Recovering of the once glorious, but now ruined Work of Reformation, in Doctrine, Worship, Diſcipline and Government, according to the Nationall Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, to which I declare my adherence, and through grace shall ſeal the ſame with my blood.

My *Advocate* drew up a Supplication for me, wherein was acknowledged that I had been with the *Rebels*; but let none offend thereat: for I do hereby declare, that I was ſo far from accounting that courſe Rebellion, that I judged and ſtill do judge it was my duty to joyn therein, and my honor to ſuffer thereſore; Otherwiſe, I ſhould have counted my ſelf acceſſary to the blood of the Lord's People which is shed: And cannot but regret that others of the Lord's People, when they heard of us, did not come forth with ſpeed to help the Lord againſt the Mighty; much more let all mourn, that not only many have appeared as Enemies, but alſo conjured themſelves againſt the Lord, & the ſame Covenant which they ſo ſolemnly ſware; And as for the Petition it ſelf, I knew not that expreſſion was in it.

Being conſcious to my ſelf of ſo much weakneſs, & ſo many hainous ſins which predomine in me, & of unfruitfulneſs under the Goſpel and unſutable walking thereto, I confeſs my ſelf the vileſt of ſinners, and deſire

to

to mourn for the ſame, and pray that the Lord for Chriſt's ſake may freely forgive me, as I have forgiven them that have wronged me, and hope through the righteouſneſs of Jeſus Chriſt to obtain the ſame; And I do exhort all and every one of my friends to more holineſs, Prayer and ſtedfaſtneſs, alwayes abounding in the Work of the Lord; And above all things, to deteſt & ſhun that wicked Declaration againſt the Covenant, the apparant temptation of the time, and the very mark of Antichriſtian Prelacy.

All that I have is but little, but if I had many Worlds, I would lay them all down, as now I do my life for Chriſt and His Cauſe, nothing doubting but the Lord will abundantly provide for my Wife and my ſix Children, whom I commit to the Lord's care, and recommend to the Kindneſs and Prayers of the faithful; And do lay an expreſs charge on my Wife that she shew all my Children, that I have bound them all to the Covenant, for which now I lay down my life, and that She lay it upon them as my laſt command, that they adhere to every Article thereof.

The Work and People of God are brought very low: It may be, becauſe they were not ripe for a deliverance; And for the greater triall, and filling up of the cup of the Adverſaries; Or, becauſe there was litle, or leſs prayer then should have been amongſt theſe who appeared at this time, that the Lord hath made this late breach. But, dear Friends, be not therefore tempted to call in queſtion the Work of Reformation; or to think the worſe of Chriſt and His Cauſe, becauſe of ſufferings; Nor be diſcouraged becauſe theſe few who took their lives in their hands, fell before the Adverſary; For as ſufferings are often ſweetned by the Spirit of God and Glory that reſteth upon

upon the ſufferers, and afterward bring forth the peaceable fruits of righteouſneſs unto them that are exerciſed thereby; So the Lord will ariſe in due time, and have mercy upon *Zion*, and plead the cauſe which is his own: And this Teſtimony, as I am this day to ſeal with my blood, ſo I ſubſcribe with my hand.

JOHN NILSON OF CORSACK.

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# The Teſtimony of GEORGE CRAWFORD, Yeoman who died at *Edinburgh*, Decemb. 14. 1666

SEing I am to die after this manner, I lay before yow this Teſtimony, which I avow before God, and leave behind me to the World.

That which moved me to come along with theſe men, was their perſuaſion, and my deſire to help them (which with a ſafe conſcience I could not well refuſe) who, being tyrannically oppreſt by the Prelats and their dependants and upholders, and ſeing no other way was left to be taken, took up Armes for their own defence; And if this be Rebellion, I leave it to the great God the ſupream Judge to decern: For in my weak judgement, I found it warrantable from the Word of God, and without prejudice of the King's Authority (whom I pray God to direct and guide in the right wayes of the Lord, and to make him proſper therein, ſo that he may be ſurely ſet in his Kingdom, having Him whom no enemy can reſiſt to defend him) ſeeing

ſeeing there was nothing intended by us, againſt his or any others juſt and lawful Authority.

But that which was my principall and chief deſign, was giving my poor aſſiſtance to the rooting out of Prelats & Prelacy, and all ſuch as are come into God's vine-yard without the Maſter's commiſſion, theſe Hirelings who came not in at the true door, *Jeſus Chriſt*, but have climbed up ſome other way as thieves and robbers, whoſe voice the sheep know not (All which is too ſadly confirmed by the dreadfull and horrid ſins that are riſen in the Land, and the curſes and plagues that have followed thereupon) that ſo by taking away theſe, the abuſes which proceed from them, and the ſad conſequences which follow their ſtanding falling with them, the Covenant of God might be re-eſtabliſhed, and true Paſtors that were ſilenced might be ſet at liberty, their mouths opened, and they themſelves put to the keeping of their flocks, and all other ſuch perſons, who were banished, or any other vvay under ſuffering, relieved.

And I do adhere to the vvay of Church-Government ſvvorn to in the Covenant, vvhich I think and aſſert to be conform to God's Word; vvhich, vvith His Spirit directing, is the only Patern and judge in all controverſies: and hovvever our endeavours at this time have not been ſucceſsful, it is of the Lord, vvho vvill come in his own time, for He can do as well with few as vvith many; but it is like the cup of the Adverſaries is not full: And who knoweth, but the Lord God of hoſts vvill hiſs for the bee of *Egypt* and the fly of *Aſſyria*, vvho vvill be more cruel and blood-thirſty then vve vvere, to avenge the quarrel of His ovvn People, and to make vvay for the eſtabliſhing of His ovvn Cauſe. I ſay no more, but as I vvas vvill-

willing to hazard my life for this Cauſe, ſo I am ready to lay it down at my Maſter's feet, ſeing He calls for it: And I pray the Almighty, to ſend His Spirit of Conſolation promiſed by His Son to His owvn people, to ſtrengthen them and bear them through, till the appointed time of the Lord's coming with Deliverance; for He will come for His own Cauſe, and for His peoples ſake, and will not tarry.

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# The laſt Speech and Teſtimony of Mr HEW Mc KAILE. Preacher of the Goſpel and Probationer for the Miniſtry, at his death in *Edinburgh*, Decemb. 22. 1666.

BEing by a great ſurpriſal of Providence, thus ſtagged before the World, in a matter of ſo univerſall concernment to all that fear God and deſire to be ſtedfaſt in his Covenant, I could not forbear to leave behind me this ſtanding Teſtimony, concerning the Occaſion and Uſes thereof, for the Glory of God, for the Vindication of my Profeſſion from the aſperſions caſt thereon by Men, and the Edification of theſe by my death, to whom I had devoted my Life in the work of the Miniſtery.

I have eſteemed the Government of this Church by *Presbytery*, to be among the chief of the Ordinances of Jeſus Chriſt, which by his blood he hes purchaſed, and aſcended up on high to beſtovv as a gift upon it; as being the very Goſpell-Miniſtery in it's Simplicity and Purity from the Inventions of Men, and ſo the Mean by

by which other Ordinances are adminiſtred, and the moſt fundamental Truths made effectual in the hearts of his People, and therefore that it ought with that ſame carefulneſs to be contended for. Experience both of the having and wanting of it, hath given it this Epiſtle of Commendation, ſo as it may be both known and read of all men: Which is alſo true of the ſolemne Engagements of the Nation thereto, by the Nationall Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, which I have eſteemed in their Riſe & Renewing, pregnant performances of that promiſe, *Iſaiah.* 44. 5. where it is evident, that where Church Reformations come to any maturity, they arrive at this degree of *ſaying I am the Lords & ſubſcribing with the hand unto the Lord.* So was it in the dayes of the Reforming Kings of *Iudah*, and after the Reſtauration from the Captivity in the dayes of *Nehemiah:* This ſame promiſe did the Lord Jeſus make *Yea* & *Amen* to us, when he redeemed us from ſpirituall *Babilon*, which is ſo much the greater evidence, that theſe were the very Motions of Gods Spirit in our firſt Reformers, that they were expreſſly deſigned againſt the greateſt motions of the Spirit of Darkneſs in Antichriſt and his ſuppoſts, and againſt the greateſt confirmations that ever theſe Abominations attained by the decrees of the Council of *Trent*, and that bloody Bond called, the *Holy League*. And therefore whatever indignity is done unto theſe Covenants, I do eſteeme to be no leſs then doing deſpite unto the ſpirit of Grace in his moſt eminent Exerting of himſelf; but eſpecially *Declaring* againſt the ſame as flowing from a Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion, to be a Sin of the ſame nature with theirs, who aſcribed Chriſt his caſting out of Devils to *Beelzebub*; and that with this aggravation, that theſe *Scribes* and *Phariſees* came never

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the length of profeſſing Chriſt, and ſubmiting themſelves to Him and his wayes.

But we are condemned to death upon the account of this Covenant, for adhereing to the dueties therein ſworn to, by ſuch as once did as much themſelves as we have done, and ſome of them more then ſome of us: Which conſiderations have moved me to great feares of Gods wrath againſt the Land, according to the curſe that we are bound under, if we ſhould break that Covenant, & in the fear of it many times to pour out my ſoul before the Lord; & as ſoon as I heard of a Party up in Armes in behalf of the Covenant; (all other door being ſhut, whereby the redreſs of the manifeſt violations of it might be obtained, and theſe by manifeſt & unheard of violence obtruded upon others) to go along with them, being bound by that Covenant againſt deteſtable Indifferency and Neutrality in this matter, & to eſteem every injury done to any ingaged in this Covenant upon account of it, as done to my ſelf: Very Conſcience of duty urged me to this againſt ſome reluctancy of fear of what might follow. Upon the ſame reaſons at *Lanrik*, with the reſt I declared my adherence to the Covenant, by my lifting up of my hand, after the Articles thereof were read.

And here I cannot but with greef of heart acknowledg my fainting in a day of trial, that being ingaged with them upon ſuch accounts, I many times in fear deſigned to withdraw, and at length did, which as it was the occaſion of my falling into the hands of the Enemy, ſo I think among other things it was the cauſe why God delivered me into their hands. Upon the ſame fear, in all my Examinations I have denied my ingagement with them, and endeavoured to Vindicate my ſelf by aſſerting the real deſignes I had to part from

them, and have utterly cast away the glory of a testimony, which my very being in their company as a favourer of the ends of the Covenant, and as one willing to contribute my best endeavours for the promoving of them, but especially my declaring for the Covenant, did bear unto the Truth and Ordinances of Jesus Christ against this untoward Generation: This I confesse to be no less then a denying of Jesus Christ, and a being ashamed of his Words before men; but I hope the Lord who remembreth that we are but frail dust, shall not lay it to my charg, but according to his faithfulness and Grace will forgive me, who by this Publick Confession, take to my self shame and confusion of face, and fly to the propitiation offered to all sinners in Jesus Christ. And these things as they have procured this death unto me, as an act of Gods Justice; so they mind me of other evils in mine own heart, that have been the source of this my unwillingness to take on Christ's Cross: My heart hath not studied to maintaine that Spirituality in walking with God and Edifying Exemplarineſs with others, that became one that had receaved the first fruits of the Spirit and aimed at the Ministery of the Gospel, living in times of so much calamity for the Church of God, and particular afflictions as to my self. If I had spent my dayes in groaning after my house from Heaven, would I have shifted so fair an occasion of being cloathed with it? Alas that I have loved my Lord and Master Jesus Christ so litle! Alas that I have done so litle service to him, that I have so litle labour to follow Me to my Everlasting rest. This I speak to these especially, with whom I have familiarly conversed in my Pilgrimage, that seing the Lord will not grant me Life to testify my real Reformation of these things,

things, my aknowledgement at Death may have influence upon them, to ſtudy not only Godlineſs but the Power of it.

As I acknowledg that I have not been free and ingenuous in theſe particulars formentioned, ſo in other things, wherein I interponed that Holy name of God, as to the not being upon the Contrivance of this riſeing in Armes, nor privy to any reſolution thereanent, nor conſcious of any Intelligence at home or abroad concerning it, I was moſt ingenuous: And they have wronged me much, who ſaid that I denied upon Oath, that which they were able to make out againſt me, or knew to be truth; But non alleage Perjury againſt me, but ſuch as are ſo manifeſtly guilty of it before the World, that their tougnes in ſuch alleagances are no ſlander.

Although I be Judged and condemned as a Rebell amongſt Men, Yet I hope even in order to this Action to be accepted as Loyal before God. Nay there can be no greater act of Loyalty to the King, as the times now go, then for every man to do his utmoſt for the Exſtirpation of that abominable plant of Prelacy, which is the bane of the Throne and of the Countrey: which if it be not done, the Throne ſhall never be eſtabliſhed in Righteouſneſs, until theſe wicked be removed from before it. Sure I ame theſe who are now comdemned as Rebels againſt Him by them, are ſuch as have ſpent much time in prayer for Him, and do more ſincerely wish his ſtanding, and have endeavoured it more by this late action ſo much condemned, then the Prelates by condemning them to death.

This *Diſaſter* hath heightened greatly the Afflictions of our Chuch, and ought to teach all of you to drink the Wine of Aſtonishment: Ye have not known tribulation till now; Now we Judg them happy that

are fallen aſleep and removed far away, and know that God hath been taking away his Servants from the Evils that were to come. Know that God's deſigne is to make many hearts contrite, that have been formerly too whole, and have not lamented ſufficiently the removeall of his Ordinances and Miniſtery, and the reproach rubed upon the Work of Reformation. Beware that your ſorrow be not a momentany motion of commoun Compaſſion, that evanisheth when it may be there is ſome interniſſion in this violent courſe of sheding innocent blood: Labour to have a conſtant impreſſion that may ſacrifice the heart, nay ye vvould live much in apprehenſion of approaching Judgment. Certainly the Withdrawing of many from us, and not contributing their help to the great work they were ingaged to, as well as we, the generall Riſeing againſt us in many places of the Countrey, but above all this open sheding of the blood of the Saints, which involveth the land in the guiltineſs of all the righteous blood shed from the foundation of the World, have made *Scotland* fit fuell for the fire of Gods Wrath. I can ſay nothing concerning times to come, but this, All things shall work together for good to them that Love God, and ſo this preſent diſpenſation; And they shall have moſt comfort in this promiſe, who are moſt willing that ſuch afflictions as we are brought to, be the way that God choiſeth to work their good.

Commit wholly the management of all maters to God, and make it your intire ſtudy night and day to keep your very garments clean: It is hard in times of ſo generall Corruptions not to be defiled one way or other; be free of the Sin as you would be of the Judgments, which will certainly be ſuch as will make all the

the Churches Know, that God is the ſearcher of the hearts and trier of the reins, *Revel.* 2. 23. and ſo will not be mocked by theſe pretences whereby, men colour their going along in an evill courſe, from the real Love that they have to a preſent world. If naked *Preſence* amongſt them who are eſteemed Rebels by men, be ſufficient to engage them in the Crime and Punishment (for that is all the ground of my Condemnation) shall not God be much more Zealous of his own glory, againſt all who ſo much as ſeem to go along with this courſe of backſliding.

As a good Mean and encouragement, to all the duties of our time, labour to be rooted and grounded in the Love of Jeſus Chriſt; This will be tender of any thing that may have the leaſt reflexion upon him, His Words or Works, and will prompt the ſoul to Zealous appearing for Him at the greateſt hazard, and to as much willingneſs to die for Him, as to Live that they may Glorify Him. And for the encouragement of yow all in this matter, I do declare, that ever ſince the day of my coming into priſon, God hath keeped my ſoul free from all Amazement or fear of death; that ſince my inditement and ſentence, God hath ſo manifeſted Himſelf at ſeveral times, that he hath lifted up my ſoul above Prelats, Principalities, & Powers, Death & Hell, to rejoice & be glad in His Salvation; and from my ſoul to account him Worthy, for whom in this his Cauſe I ſhould undergo the greateſt ſhame or Paine; And to aſſured hopes of Eternal Communion with Him in Heaven: And that nothing hath more brangled my peace, then ſhifting an open and free teſtimony before my Examinators, to the work that I was ingaged in.

I do freely pardon all that have accession to my blood, and wish that it be not laid to the charg of this sinful Land, but that God would grant Repentance to our Rulers, that they may obtaine the same reconciliation with Him, whereof I myself do partake. Truely I beleeve many of them if not instigated by the cruel Prelats (at whose door our blood doth principally lie) would have used more mitigation: But that reluctancy of mind to shed blood, will be so far from Vindicating of them, that upon the contrary, it will be a witness against them in the Day of the Lord.

I heartily submit my self to Death, as that which God hath appointed to all men because of Sin, and to this particular way of it, as deserved by my particular Sins. I praise God for this Fatherly chastisement, whereby he hath made me in part and will make me perfectly partaker of his Holiness. I glorify Him that called me forth to suffer for His Name and Ordinances, and the solemne engagements of the Land to Him, and that he hath taken this way to take me away from the evill to come. The Lord bless all His Poor Afflicted groaning People that are behind.

Hereafter I will not talk with flesh and blood, nor think on the Worlds consolations: Farewel all my Friends whose company hath been refreshful to me in my Pilgrimage; I have done with the Light of the Sun and Moon. Welcome Eternal Life, Everlasting Love, Everlasting Praise, Everlasting Glory. Praise to Him that sits upon the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever. Though I have not been so with Thee as I ought to have been in the House of my Pilgrimage, yet thow hast made with me an Everlasting Covenant,

nant, Ordered in all things and Sure. And this is all my Salvation, and all my desire. Bless the Lord O my Soul! that hath pardoned all my Iniquities in the Blood of His Son, and healed all my Deseases. Bless Him O all ye his Angels that excel in strength, ye Ministers that do his pleasure. Bless the Lord O my Soul! Halelujah. *Edinburgh Tolbooth, December 22. 1666.* Sic subscribitur

HEW McKAIL.

I have heard that some of the Prisoners are willing to save their lives by taking the *Declaration*, That is, by abjuring that Work and Cause for which they adventured their Lives: Which if they do, our blood shall bear witness against them in the great Day of God. And God shall so punish some of them in this Life, that they shall curse the day that ever they shifted to dy on a scaffold.

HEW McKAIL.

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# The Testimony of JOHN WODROW, Merchant in *Glasgow*, who died in *Edinburgh*, Decemb. 22. 1666.

*Dear Friends.*

I Am condemned to die I shall say little concerning men who have judged and condemned me, they are to answer to God for it; But I bless the Lord, who

hath counted me worthy to die for ſo good and honourable a cauſe. And that I be not miſtaken after I am gone hence, I have thought fit to teſtify that in ſingleneſs and ſincerity of heart, I came into the ſervice, not conſtrained but from conſcience of my being engaged by Covenant to God, and with a full purpoſe to perform my vows made in that Covenant unto the Lord, in the ſtrength of Jeſus Chriſt; And that I might endeavour to reſtore again the precious Ordinances to their former purity & power, and to recover the fair Church in this Land (which our bleſſed Lord hath purchaſed to Himſelf, and bought at ſo dear a rate) to her former Beauty, which is now defaced: And particularly to bring down that Antichriſtian Prelacy, and that perjured crue of Prelats, who have ſo perfidiouſly wronged the Intereſts of our bleſſed Lord and Maſter, Jeſus Chriſt. This is the only Cauſe for which I undertook this ſervice, and joyned with others my dear and Covenanted brethren; And that I had no intention to wrong the King's perſon or Authority, but to ſeek his real good, according to my duty in the Word of God, and alſo as I ſware in the ſame Covenant wherein I did ſwear againſt Prelacy. And notwithſtanding I be condemned of men as a *Rebel*, yet I am juſtifyed of God, my God and Father, in and through my Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who giveth me ſweet peace of conſcience and joy of heart: I grant it is not enough to juſtify me before Him, that I had a juſt Cauſe, unleſs likewiſe I had therewith the acceptation of my perſon through Faith in the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt, who ſtandeth in our nature in heaven, which I dare declare this day as a dying man, that I have obtained; for I am confident that through His righteouſneſs made over unto me, He hath

hath made me free, in which I shall ſtand for ever; and that within a few hours I ſhall ſee Him in peace, as I am ſeen of Him; and behold and wonder, and wonder and behold for evermore that moſt glorious excellency of His. And this yeeldeth to me great conſolation in all my extremities, were they never ſo great; This I ſay is my peace and conſolation this day, even Chriſt my Righteouſneſs, who hath both accepted my Perſon and Cauſe: Therefore I count it a ſmall thing to be judged and condemned of men, for my Teſtimony is on high, and my record in heaven.

And now, *my friends*, I am condemned to die for adhering to my Covenant made with God, for Reformation of Religion and Converſation, to which all ranks of the Land are as well bound as I, though many (alas! too many) ſhaking off all fear of God have deſpiſed the Oath, not only by breaking the Covenant, but by profeſſing and declaring avowedly the bond thereof null, and not binding either to their own or other mens conſciences: And this miſchief is framed by a Law, which doth greatly highten the Sin; O! tell it not in *Gath*, and publiſh it not in *Askelon*. Oh! that this ſhould be heard of amongſt Papiſts and Pagans, that profeſſed Reformed Proteſtants ſhould ſtand in ſo litle aw of a ſolemn Oath, and Name of the great and living God.

But I exhort and obteſt you all, that ſo much the more as others have made void His Covenant, you would eſteem it the more precious, and cloſely follow the Reformation vowed, in every Article thereof, upon all occaſions given you of the Lord; And that you abhor, deteſt and refuſe any engagement whatſoever, that may wrong your Oath in the Covenant directly or indirectly, as ye would eſcape the

wrath of God that is coming on ſuch breaking of Covenant, but rather choiſe the greateſt extremity of affliction, then the leaſt ſin of this ſort; as *Moſes* did, who refuſed to be called the Son of *Pharaoh's* Daughter, but chuſed rather to ſuffer reproach for Chriſt; And be not afraid of ſuffering for Chriſt, as though it were an evill thing, neither ſcar ye at His croſs, for the Lord Himſelf ſaith, *My yoke is eaſy and My burthen light*; Yea it is lighter to us then to many that ſtand by: Believe; Faith maketh all burthens light to the believing Sufferer.

And now I beſeech you believers in Chriſt, abide in Him and bring forth fruit unto Holineſs, and ſtudy tenderneſs in all manner of converſation, and holineſs without which no man ſhall ſee the Lord; And let not this profane and mocking Generation have any thing to reproach you with, but that whereof you would not be ashamed, that when you ſuffer ye may not ſuffer as evill doers, that whereas they ſpeak evill of you, they may be ashamed that falſly accuſe your good converſation in Chriſt. It is not knowledge nor a bare Profeſſion that glorifieth God, but Tenderneſs, Holineſs and Righteouſneſs, that do commend Religion and His Cauſe to all men, and ſhall convince your Adverſaries of their Wickedneſs in wronging you, and make them the more inexcuſable in that day when they ſhall be judged: Yea, what know ye, but ye may win others by your tender and good converſation?

I recommend to you, that ye would be much and fervent in the uſe of that precious duty of Prayer, wherein moſt near Communion with God upon earth is to be found: Be much in prayer, with and for others. Forſake not the aſſembling of your ſelves to-

together as the manner of ſome is (I wish they may ſee the evill of it who neglect it) but exhort one another, and ſo much the more, as ye ſee the day approaching: Earneſtneſs and diligence will haſten the Lord's coming with relief unto you, and to the Lords born-down Work; and your ſlackneſs in this, may make the wheels of His chariot to move the more ſlowly. For the effectuall fervent prayer of the righteous availeth much with God; It will do more then Armies of men and weapons of War for your defence and deliverance.

I beſeech you alſo, *my dear Friends*, that you acquaint yourſelves with the Word of God in the Holy Scripture, that ye may have acquaintance with Jeſus Chriſt who is clearly ſet forth therein; that ye may know Him in His excellency and come to love and believe in Him whom ye know; that ye may be acquainted with His revealed will therein, and may know what is truth, and cleave faſt thereto, from a ſure perſuaſion that it hath the warrant of His Word; and may be guarded againſt every error of the wicked, and that ye may fully know what is good and what is evill; And that ye may ſuffer with confidence, when ye are brought forth thereto as I am.

Finally, *my dear Friends*, be ye perfect, be of good comfort, be of one minde, live in peace - and the God of love and peace ſhall be with you.

JOHN WODROW.

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# The Copy of JOHN WODROW His Letter to His Wife, dated Decemb. 22. 1666. which was the Day on which He ſuffered.

*My Heart*,

REverence the good Providence of the Lord our God, who can do nothing wrong; For whatſoever He doth is well-done, and my Soul ſaith, *Amen*. I had not a will of my own (my Heart) ſince that day wherein Yow and I parted, My Lord and my God captivated it, & brought it to a ſubmiſſion unto His will: I bleſs Him for evermore for it, that I was never left to my own will; Praiſe, O praiſe Him all ye living! And O thou my ſoul praiſe the Lord for it. I bleſs the Lord for evermore that ever He viſited my Fathers Family, that ever He condeſcended to come unto my Fathers Family, and to give a viſit to the like of me: He viſited me there, and ſet his Love upon me, and hath choſen me for this very end, to be a witneſs for his covenanted Reformation. For this my Soul is glad, and my Glory rejoyceth for this Honour wherewith He hath honoured me; And that, though I be condemned to die by men on earth, yet am I juſtifyed of God through the blood of my Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, who ſtandeth in our nature in Heaven, and hath made me free through his imputed Righteouſneſs made over unto me, in which I ſtand for ever; And within a few hours I ſhall ſee Him in peace, as I am ſeen of Him, and behold and wonder

wonder, and wonder & behold for evermore, even that moſt glorious excellency which is in Him. All that which is ſpoken of Him is but litle: O my Heart, my dear Love, come and ſee I beſeech yow! I thought I had known ſomething of my deareſt Lord before, that I had ſome love from and to Him before, But never was it ſo with me, as it hath been with me ſince I came within the doors of this Priſon; many a precious viſit hath his gracious Majeſty given unto me. He is without all compariſon; O love, love Him! O come to Him, O taſte and ſee, and that ſhall reſolve the queſtion beſt. The thing I ſuffer for is the Covenanted Reformation. I bleſs God, and all that is within me doth bleſs and magnify His Holy Name for this, tnat *Scotland* did ever enter into a Covenant with the Lord, into a ſworn Covenant, with the hand lifted up to the Lord: And I have now ſworn and renued this Covenant again for my ſelf & you, and my four Children in all the parts and points thereof; And I pray, God help you to abide in the Covenant for ever.

And now I give you and my four Children unto the Lord, and commit you ro Him as your Covenanted God and Husband, & my Childrens Covenanted Father. I ſay no more, but either ſtudy to be indeed a ſincere Chriſtian, & a ſeeker of His face in ſincerity, or elſe you will be nothing at all. I recommend you and your young-ones to Him, who is God All-ſufficient, and aboundeth in Mercy and Love to them that Love Him and keep his Covenant. The bleſſing of the Covenant be upon you, ſo fare you well. So ſaith

*Your loving and dying Husband*

JOHN WODROW.

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The

# The Teſtimony of RALPH SHIELDS,

## An English-man who died in *Edinburgh*, Decemb. 22. 1666.

*My Friends.*

I Am come here to die, and I thank God, it is not for evill doing that I now ſuffer: although I be charged with Rebellion againſt the Kings Authority, yet I declare before God and you all, that in all this matter I never intended to wrong his Majeſtie's juſt Power and greatneſs, but for conſcience ſake did reſpect Authority as the Ordinance of God appointed for the punishment of evill doers, and that I wish his Ma: all welfare both in this life, and the world to come, and that it may be his happineſs to conſider his Obligations to God and Perform the ſame, that ſo it may be well with him and his Poſterity to many generations; and I pray God make him a friend to His Cauſe and the truly Godly who own the ſame, though falſly called Phanaticks or turbulent perſons.

I declare I have ſuch perſuaſion of the Intereſt of Religion Reformed, and ſworn unto in the Covenant, that I dare venture not only to lay down my own life, but if every hair of my head were a man, they should all be put to venture for this cauſe: I would not have the world to ſtumble at the Cauſe, becauſe of my death after this manner; for I rejoyce greatly in it, and I deſire every good Chriſtian as they tender their own ſouls that they would grip faſt, lay hold on, and cleave to Jeſus Chriſt and His way.

My

My coming out at this time (I ſay) was not againſt his Majeſty, but for the Covenant which is now troden under foot; my intention was for the Cauſe of Chriſt; I take God to witneſs, it was nothing elſe I came out for, and for that I am free to lay down my life.

I bleſs God I am much encouraged in this, and not at all afraid to die for ſo good and clear a Cauſe; and I hope He will bring me thorow all my difficulties in this dark ſhadow of death: I hope I have the peace of a good conſcience, and have had ſome glimpſes from Jeſus Chriſt of His countenance and reconciled Face, ſince I came into this priſon, for which I deſire to bleſs His Name with all my ſoul, heart and ſpirit. And I rejoyce that He hes made uſe of me to ſuffer for His Cauſe; And I think it too litle, not only to lay down my body, but (if it were poſſible) even my very ſoul at the ſtake for that Cauſe and for Jeſus Chriſt my good and kind Maſter, who hath loved me and given Himſelf for me. I give the Lord thanks that I had ſome of His Preſence ſince I came into this condition: and again I ſay, I am much encouraged and not afraid to die, and bleſs Him that I die not as a murtherer, or evil doer, or Rebel to Authority, but for ſuch a cauſe as this.

O that it were the happineſs of my Nation of *England*, once to ſubiect themſelves unto the ſweet yoke of Chriſts Reformed Government, under which this Nation of *Scotland* hath enjoyed ſo much of the Power and life of the Goſpel, by a faithful Miniſtry according to the Covenant ſworn by them both.

And now, *my dear Friends in Chriſt, and fellow-Covenanters*, though I be a ſtranger in this Land, being an *Engliſh-man*, but triſted by providence in the proſecution

of

of my calling, to have my reſidence for a time here in *Scotland*, which I look upon, as a ſingulare evidence of God's ſpecial love to me, though I be a ſtranger, I ſay, to many of you, yet I muſt be bold as a dying friend, to beſeech you by the mercy of God, and by your appearance before Jeſus Chriſt, when we ſhall have to do with none but Him as our Judge, that ye be faithfull and ſtedfaſt in the Cauſe of God, and Covenant which ye have ſworn with hands lifted up to the moſt high God, which no Power on earth can looſe you from, and that ye keep you from ſnares unto the contrary, and not ſuffer your ſelves to fall into a deteſtable Neutrality and Indifferency in that Cauſe of God; And eſpecially that ye keep your ſelves free of any Engagements by word or write, that may wrong your Oath of the Covenant. I commit my Wife and Children to His care, who careth for them that put their truſt in Him before the Sons of men, not doubting but they ſhall be eyed with goodwil and favor by the Godly, after I am gone. And now I render up my Spirit to Him who gave it me, and for whoſe ſake I now lay down my life. To this God, my Covenanted God, be glory, bleſſing and praiſe for now and ever, *Amen*.

That this is my mind and Teſtimony, which I leave behind me, I witneſs by my ordinary ſubſcription,

R. SHIELDS.

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The

# The Teſtimony of HUMPREY COLHOUNE, At his Death in *Edinburgh*, Decemb. 22. 1666.

*Dear Friends and Spectators*,

I am come here this Day to this Place to die this Death, for crimes for which (I thank God) my Conſcience doth not condemn me. My crime, as is alleaged, is for Diſloyalty againſt the King's Majeſty; Yet I thank God, that my appearing lately with the Lord's People was from my ſenſe of my obligation in the Covenant, and the ſenſe of the wrongs done in the Land, and the crying oppreſſions committed therein. This was the end of my appearing for the Lord againſt His enemies, to bear witneſs againſt the ſame: The which obligation of the Oath of God, I judge that none on earth can looſe the Conſcience from. I bleſs the Lord again and again, I die for this Oath and Covenant; And I thank God alſo, that I have by the great mercy of the Almighty God in Chriſt Jeſus, obtained mercy and forgiveneſs for all my tranſgreſſions both againſt the firſt and ſecond Table of the Law: And that through that Ocean of grace which is in the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, I believe that I am juſtified and ſanctified, and believe now to be glorified with Him, by that bleſſed blood of His, which hath purchaſed this Salvation to me, through faith in the ſame, made application of; according to the good Covenant of grace. He hath performed this; out of his vvonderfull and incomparable free-grace; And

this is my joy and exceeding great rejoycing and conſolation, and all my ſalvation, for vvhich I am Grace's debtor throughout all Eternity. I die vvith this my Teſtimony, my adherence to the National Covenant, to the Solemn League and Covenant, to the Work of Reformation a great length carried on, and now overthrown moſt ſinfully by ungodly Men, vvho have eſtablished their Apoſtacy by Law, which no juſt Power on earth could ever do. Alſo I adhere to the Presbyterial Government, the Confeſſion of Faith, Cathechiſms Larger and Shorter, And to the Solemn Acknovvledgement of the Church of *Scotland*, And Publick Teſtimonies thereof againſt the ſins of the time. This day I rejoyce that He hath counted me vvorthy to lay dovvn my life for Him, as one that beareth vvitneſs againſt the breach of all the Sacred Oaths and Ties that were eſtablished in this Land, yea by the juſt Laws both of God and Man, which never could have been repealed lawfully, as this wicked Generation hath done.

Dear Friends, I hope ye will ſtand faſt in this Obligation, and in the Solemn Oaths and Ties ye are under, and all the body of the Land alſo will be ſtedfaſt in the ſame, upon the greateſt hazard ye can meet with; And that ye will ſtudy perfect holineſs and nearneſs with God, which will help to keep you ſtraight in this day of Perſecution and ſharp Triall that is now raging in this Land: I bleſs the Lord, I die not a fool, though ſome men have thought ſo of me by their ſpeeches to me, ſince my impriſonment: neither durſt I ever be the man to buy my liberty at ſuch a dear rate as Perjury, and to ſhake off theſe bleſſed bonds I did vvillingly come under; And I thank God, I never yet to this moment rued or repented it; And ſure I am

it

it is better for me to ſuffer the vvorſt of deaths, then to preſerve my life by breaking the Oaths of God. I alſo give my Teſtimony againſt Prelacy and that vvicked Hierarchy novv eſtabliſhed in this Land, as that vvhich the Church of Chriſt could never bear until this day, it being ſuch a grand Enemy to the purity of the Goſpél, and povver of Godlineſs, yea a yoke vvhich the Church of God groaneth under. I have no more to ſay, but commends all you the lovers of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt to God Himſelf, and to the good vvord of His grace, vvhich is able to build you up untill the day of His appearance, and to give you all an inheritance with them that are ſanctified through faith in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. And ſubſcribes my ſelf an expectant and apparent heir of the grace of Chriſt.

HUMPREY COLHOUN.

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# The Teſtimony of JOHN WILSON, Who ſuffered at *Edinburgh*, Decemb. 22. 1666.

*Good People and Spectators.*

I Am here condemned to die upon alleaged Rebellion againſt the King and his Authority, which God knoweth, I never intended. For in my judgement, a man's endeavouring to extirpate perjured Prelates and abjured Prelacy, according as he is bound by Oath in a ſworn Covenant, may very well ſtand with a man's Loyalty to King and Countrey; for I am ſure, the

King and his Subjects may be happy, yea more happy in the extirpation of *Prelates* and *Prelacy*, then in their ſtanding; Yea the Throne ſhall never be eſtabliſhed in peace, until that wicked plant be plucked up by the roots, which hath ſo much waſted and made deſolate the Lord's Vineyard: For my part, I pray that the Lord may bleſs our King with bleſſings from Heaven, and make him a friend to the Intereſts of Chriſt, as the beſt way for the ſtanding of his Throne to many generations; And I pray for all that are in Authority under his Majeſty, that the Lord may not lay to their charge the innocent blood of His Saints, which they have ſhed. But the ground of my ſentence is truly, the renewing of the Covenant with my God, and labouring to defend the ſame, according to my Oath: And this I profeſs is and was my duty, and by the grace of God will not quite it; And in token hereof, I am here before you all to lay down my life in defence of the ſame, and require you all to be witneſſes to this my Teſtimony; I do declare, I am not aſhamed, but count it my glory. I do likewiſe declare this before you all in the ſight of God, the Judge of all hearts, that ſince the day I did firſt ſwear and ſubſcribe this Covenant for Reformation, it hath been ſweet unto me, for I am perſuaded in my Conſcience of the warrantableneſs thereof. I did ſwear the Covenant four times, and the laſt time at *Lanerk*, which was the ſweeteſt time to me of them all; For with my whole ſoul I renewed it, and gave up both my ſoul and body to Him, to be at His diſpoſal, which, I truſt in God, I ſhall never rue. Hearty praiſe and thanks be to the bleſſed God, that ever it pleaſed Him to give unto this poor Church that mercy to enter in Covenant with Himſelf, that He might be unto us a Covenanted

named God, the richeſt mercy that can be beſtowed on men. I have lived a Presbyterian in my judgement, according as I have ſworn, and judge it to be the only way that God hath appointed in His word, for the Government of His Church on earth; for under that Government the power and practice of Religion hath greatly flourished, and many a ſoul hes been converted to the Lord, and found ſweet fellowship with Him in His Ordinances, by the Miniſtry of His honeſt and and lawfully called Servants. And bleſſed be the day that ever I heard a faithfull ſent Miniſter preach the Goſpell. I do declare before heaven and earth that my whole deſigne in this Riſing in Armes, was only againſt abjured *Prelacy* and *Prelates*, the great Oppreſſors of God's Intereſts, and cruell perſecuters of His People, both in their conſciences and bodies; and I judge their Government and why not to be conforme to the Word of God in the Holy Scriptures. I might cite many Scriptures to this purpoſe, but I ſhall only name two *Luke* 22.26. *but ye ſhall not be ſo; but he that is greateſt among you, let him be as the yonger; and he that is chief, as he that doth ſerve.* And 1 *Pet.* 5. 3. *neither as being Lords over God's heritage, &c.* Yea it may be ſeen from ſad experience, that under their Government, the power of Godlineſs hath decayed, and avowed profanity and Popery it ſelf hath increaſed, both to the diſhonor of the holy Lord, and the great grief of the hearts of the Godly. I am ſo perſuaded of the truth of the Covenant, and of the error of their way, and that Jeſus Chriſt is the only King and Lord over His own Houſe, and beſides Him there is none elſe, for He will not give His glory to another, I am ſo perſuaded of theſe things, that I

dare ſeal the truth thereof with my blood, and am come hither for the ſame end, without any fear or amazement; yea if every hair of mine head were a man, I would have ventured all according to the Covenant which I made with my God; And although I be a poor polluted ſinner, and my houſe not ſo with God, as it became; yet hath He made with me an everlaſting Covenant, well ordered in all things and ſure, and this is all my Salvation and all my deſire; And I hope the Lord will ſoon tread down all His enemies with ſhame, and the enemies of His Covenant alſo. Therefore, let all that love the Lord Jeſus Chriſt and His Truth and Covenant, take comfort and courage, notwithſtanding of all that which is come to paſs, And let them not be aſhamed to adhere thereunto, whatſoever ſufferings they meet with therein, for He will make up that loſs in Himſelf, and avenge the wrongs done to Himſelf & them in His own due time: I aſſure you, Chriſt is a good Maſter to ſerve: if ye knew Him rightly & His croſs, it is ſweet & eaſy to the believer; for He maketh death to be life, and bringeth light out of darkneſs. I deſire to follow the bleſſed Captain of my ſalvation through well and wo. I beſeech you, *my dear Friends*, whom now I am to part with, that ye ſtand to the defence of all the truths of God and of His Word; & that ye receive the Lord Chriſt, as He hath offered Himſelf therein, ye who have not cloſed with Him; And that he who hath cloſed with Him, abide in Him by a lively faith and love, bringing forth fruits, that you may put credit on your profeſſion, and keep off every thing that may ſhame your glorious and bleſſed Maſter before this evill and adulterous generation. And I give you all warning and dehort you heartily as ye love your own ſouls, and as ye will

will anſwer to Him, who ſhall judge the quick and dead, that ye ſtand faſt in all the duties ye are ſworn unto in the National and in the Solemn League and Covenant, both towards God, your King and one another: And that ye beware of ſnares in taking of any Oaths or Declarations contrary in the leaſt, to the Oath of God in theſe Covenants. I leave my wife and little children upon Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, who are now to be made a widow and fatherleſs for His ſake, truſting, He will care for them; And I recommend them to the counſell and kindneſs of His people under Him. I can forgive the wrong done to me in taking away my life for this Cauſe, and wish God to be merciful to theſe that have condemned me, or have had any hand in my death: But bleſſed be God, that brought and hath kept me on His ſide of this Cauſe, and honoured me to be a publick witneſs for Him and His bleſſed Truth, and Cauſe; for which I ſhall praiſe Him in the World to come, whether I now go: yea I will praiſe Him on the borders of Death & Eternity. To His bleſſed Name, Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt be praiſe for now and ever. So ſaith your dying friend for Chriſt.

JOHN WILSON.

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# A true Relation of the Sufferings and Death of MR HEW MCKAIL. Preacher of the Goſpel.

MR *Hew McKail* having paſſed, and improven the vertuous means of his Education (at the Univerſity

verſity of *Edinburgh*, and with his Uncle *Mr Hew McKail*, Miniſter there, in whoſe family he did reſide) to the ſatisfaction and good hope of all, in the Winter 1661. upon the very turne of this ſad Cataſtrophe, offers himſelf to Tryall (being 20 years old) before the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, in order to the work of the Miniſtery; and being by them amply approven and licenſed, and having preached at ſeveral times with the great benefit and applauſe of all his hearers, he did preach his laſt publick Sermon in *Edinburgh*, in the *Great Church* thereof, upon the Sabbath immediatly preceeding that 8 of *September* 1662. the day affixed by the then Parliament, for the removal of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*.

His text was *Song.* 1. 7. In this Sermon taking occaſion to ſpeak of the great and many perſecutions, to which the Church of God hath been and is obnoxious; and amplifying the Point from the Perſons and Powers who have been inſtrumental therein, he ſaid, *that the Church and People of God had been perſecuted, both by a Pharaoh upon the Throne, a Haman in the State, and a Iudas in the Church*; and falling to inlarge the ſeveral wayes and manner of the Perſecutions of theſe men, & the iſſue thereof; the caſes of *Haman* and *Iudas* appeared in the conviction of his Adverſaries, to have ſuch a near reſemblance to the ſtate and condition of the then Rulers of State and Church, that though he did make no Application, yet he was reputed to be guilty thereof.

Whereupon, within a few dayes thereafter, there was a Party of Horſemen ſent to the Place where he then lived near to *Edinburgh*, for to ſeiſe his Perſon and make him Priſoner. But upon almoſt no more then a moments advertiſement, he eſcapes out of his bed,

and

and shifting only to another chamber, was miraculouſly preſerved from the Search then uſed, though moſt diligent and accurate. For this cauſe, he being neceſſitated to leave that Place, retired home-ward to his Fathers houſe, where having lurked a while, and thereafter as occaſions call'd him ſpent the four years that have ſince interveen'd, in ſeveral places and with much uncertainty. Yet during all this ſpace, to the certain knowledge and ſweet remembrance of all that converſed with him, he was moſt ſeriouſly exerciſed in the Study of Piety and true Knowledge, wherein as he greatly advanced above all his equalls, ſo at length he became moſt eminent and exemplary.

While he is thus living and employed at his Fathers houſe, the late Troubles ariſing in the *Weſt* fall out; and the newes thereof having alarmed him with the reſt of that Countrey, upon the 18. of *Nov.* laſt, being the Sabbath, for ſuch motives and upon ſuch conſiderations as he himſelf doth fully afterward declare, he joined himſelf to thoſe who roſe in theſe parts for the aſſiſting of that poor afflicted Party, as in their conſciences, by their Covenant, they thought themſelves indiſpenſably obliged.

When and where he joined with them, or what was his part, or endeavours amongſt them, needs not to be remembered. Only this is certain, that being of a thin body, and tender conſtitution, he was ſo diſabled and weakened with the toil and fatigue of continual marching and tempeſtuous weather (particularly at *Air*, where he lay a conſiderable time, as if he had been dead, by reaſon of fainting) that he could no longer endure it. Whereupon, on *Tueſday Novemb.* 27. he was neceſſitated to part from them in the morning, near to the New Bridge upon *Cramond*

water: And in his way towards *Libberton* Parish, about twelve of the clock passing through *Bread's Craigs*, he was taken, without resistance, having only a small ordinary sword, by such of the Countreymen, as were then sent out to view the fields; in which passage it is very observable, that his escape formerly mentioned was not more miraculous, then his present taking was fatal: for it is without question, had he but retained and observed the least of that advertency and caution, wherein at other times he was known to be both ready & very happy, he might, without either hazard or trouble, have escaped this inconvenience; but God who gave him the full experience of his turning all things unto the good of them that love Him, did thus by his simplicity and folly, prepare the way for His own Glory and His servants joy and Victory.

Being brought to *Edinburgh*, and first to the Towns Council-house, in their search for letters he was immediatly stript; and there being none found, committed prisoner to the Tolbuith.

Upon the Wedensday, being the 28 of *November* by order from the Secret Council, he was brought before the *Earle* of *Dumfreis*, Lord *Sinclar*, *Sir Robert Murray of Preistfield* and others, in order to his Examination; and being interrogate concerning his joyning & being with the *West-land* forces, he conceaving himself not obliged by any Law or Reason, to be his own Accuser, to the destruction of his life, did plainly deny the question; but being desired to signe with his hand, what he had said and they caused write, though at first he appeared willing, yet partly being advised by the Lord *Sinclar*, to beware that he subscribed nothing, whereof the contrary would be found true, lest it might

might therefore fare the worſe with him, and partly ſcrupling at the terms of *Rebells* and *Rebellion*, wherein the queſtion and his Anſwer were conceaved, and partly bethinking that a ſimple denyall may import more then the pleading of *Not-guilty*, he refuſed to ſubſcribe his name, which being reported to the Councill gave great offence, and brought him under the ſuſpition of a deep diſſembler.

On *Thurſday Novemb.* 29. being again called before his Examinators, upon the conſiderations mentioned, & for allaying the Councils prejudice, & preventing the inconvenience he might there-through ſuſtain, he gives in a Declaration under his own hand, teſtifying, that he had been with the *Weſtland* Forces, with whom he occaſionally mett, and that he reſolved to have withdrawn from them upon the firſt opportunity, which he was alſo about to do when he was taken, without either offering to flee or reſiſt, which he deſired the Council the rather to believe, becauſe he had told ſo much to *William Lawry* of *Blackwood*, a perſon imployed from the *Lieut. Generall Dalzell* to the Weſtland Forces. But notwithſtanding that *William Lawry* did teſtify this to be a truth, yet the Council retaining former impreſſions, and apprehending that the preſence and confronting of ſome other Priſoners of the *Weſtland* Forces (who plainly declared their acceſſion to that Riſing) and their deponing concerning him, did only move *Mr Hew* to this acknowledgement, although it be certainly known, that he had formed and ſubſcribed the ſame the night before, they fortify and perſiſt in their jealouſy, and ſuſpecting him to have been a contriver of the Inſurrection, and privy to all Deſignes and Intelligence relating to it, they dealt with him with great importunity to be ingenuous, and

to

to declare who were the Ring-leaders of the late Riſing, and what correſpondence either at home or abroad was kept anent it: And this was done eſpecially upon the *Monday Dec.* 3. at which time alſo the *Boots* (a terrible inſtrument of Torture, which the humanity of our later times hath ſo much abhorred, that not only the faſhion of them was forgot, but all Torture for their cauſe, diſuſed; yet new ones ſuch as they are) were laid before him, upon the Town Council-Houſe table, and he certifyed, that if he would not confeſs, he ſhould be tortured by them to morrow. And accordingly upon *Tueſday* Dec. 4. he was again called before the Council, where, after the Examination & Torture of *John Nilſon* of *Corſack*, he was again examined by the *Earle* of *Rotheſs* the Kings Commiſſioner, the *Marqueſs* of *Montroſs*, and ſeveral of the Privy Councill, (in the Town Council-Houſe) the Biſhop of *St Andrewes* for the honor of his profeſſion forſooth, and ſome others of the Counſellers upon more real and Chriſtian motives, having at firſt withdrawn themſelves: And being urged to confeſs, he declared, with a ſolemn Atteſtation, that he knew no more, then he had already confeſſed, whereupon they ordered the *Executioner* to put his leg into the Boot and to proceed to the Torture. But as he had before confeſſed and declared ingenuouſly all he knew, ſo this Torture (though in it ſelf very violent and painful, by the extraordinary compreſſion both of flesh, ſinews and bones, by the force of timber wedges and hammer, & uſed upon him in a double meaſure, even to ten or eleven ſtrokes, with conſiderable intervals; as there remained no truth concealed which it could extort) did not in the leaſt move him to expreſs any impatience or bitterneſs, but having ſuſtained it moſt conſtantly and Chriſtianly,

before

before he got the laſt three ſtrokes, he proteſted ſolemnly in the ſight of God, that he could ſay no more, though all the joints of his body were in as great torture as that poor leg, and deſires to know what could hinder them to believe one of his Profeſſion, who had ſo ſolemnly declared as in the ſight of God, that he knew no more then he had told, *viz.* that to the beſt of his knowledge, the Riſing in the *Weſt* was meerly occaſional, upon a diſcontent betwixt the people in the *Stewarey* of *Galloway* & *Sir James Turner*, to which every one did run, as their hearts moved them when they heard of it.

This Torture was the cauſe why he was not indicted with the firſt ten, who being arraigned and ſentenced on *Wedenſday Dec.* 5. were hanged on the *Fryday* thereafter, at the Croſs of *Edinburgh*. Many thought that conſidering his ſmall acceſſion unto that Riſing, which neither was nor could be proven to be more, then what he himſelf had freely confeſſed, and that he had ſuffered ſuch hard meaſure by Torture, & that not in order to the diſcovery of his own Crime, but the declaring of the Contrivers and his Complices, that the ſame ſhould have procured him favor, but the matter was otherwiſe determined. Neither was the Sermon before mentioned, ſo quite forgotten, though ill remembered, and often repeated in Councill in theſe words *Achab upon the Throne*, and no more, and therefore

Upon *Monday* the 10 of *Dec.* he and other ſeven receaved their Indictments of Treaſon, & were acordingly ſummoned to appear before the *Juſtices* on *Wedenſday* Dec. 12. But his Torture & cloſe Impriſonment thereafter, (for ſo it was ordered) having caſt him in a Fever; whereby he was utterly diſenabled to make his appearance,

Upon *Tueſday* Dec. 11. he gave in to the Lords of Coun-

Councel his Supplication of the Tenor following *viz.* *that, whereas I have receaved an Indictment of Treason, which was yesterday delivered to me, and I appointed to make answer thereto to morrow, and seing in this matter of the highest importance, not only all the time allowed is very short, but I am and have been ever since my Torture in a great distemper and Fever, besides the great pain and utter inability of my leg, which hath constantly kept me bed-fast, and doth render me incapable not only of minding my own Defence, but wholly unable either to walk or stand, farless to go and compeir before the Lord Iustice, as I doubt not but Physicians will testify, if your Lo: will order them to visit me, which I humbly beg; And seing my accession to the Crimes libelled is so very slender, being only simple Presence, and that not only occasional, as I did declare before Your Lo: but also in some sort retracted and purged, by my purposed and actuall off-coming and deserting; and lastly, seing I was put to sore Torture, in order to a furder discovery, with a promise of favor, in case of my Ingenuity, which I then singly used, as in the sight of God, to the utmost of my knowledge: May it therefore please Your Lordships, graciously to consider the Premises, specially my utter inability to make my appearance, and to surcease any legall procedor against me, in this so weak and extream condition, and to discharge me of the foresaid Citation and Appearance. And your Lo: answer.*

This Petition and the following are therefore sett down

down *verbatim*, that both the utmoſt of his condeſcendence may appear, and the fainting that he ſo much regrates in his laſt Speach, be the better underſtood. And with the ſame ſubſcribed by him, there was given in, an Atteſtation under the hands of ſeven Chirurgeons, declaring his weak and ſickly condition.

Hereupon the Council did order two Phyſicians, and two Chirurgeons (*viz. Sir Robert Cuningham, Doctor Hay, James Borthwick*, and *Thomas Kinkead*.) to viſit him, and to return their Atteſtation upon ſoul and conſcience, betwixt and the morrow at ten of the Clock, to the *Iuſtices*.

Upon Wedenſday Decemb. 12. the *Iuſtices* being ſet, the Atteſtation of the two Doctors and Chirurgeons above mentioned, is produced for *Mr Hew McKail*, and other three of the Priſoners indicted, and their excuſe proponed thereupon. But the *Iuſtice* finding, that the Atteſtation, not bearing *ſoul and conſcience*, did not agree to the Warrand and Order given by the Councill, and that the Phyſicians being called, did refuſe upon point of Priviledge to rectify it in theſe terms, although they declared, that the truth thereof was ſuch, as they might ſafely confirm it by Oath, they do only ſuperſede their procedor againſt *M. Hew*, and other two contained in the Atteſtation, untill to morrow, and ordain *Iohn Nilſon* of *Corſack*, though alſo contained in the Atteſtation, in reſpect the ſame as to his part, was not relevant, and the other four, to be brought to the Bar, who accordingly being brought, were that day ſentenced to be hanged on Fryday thereafter.

*Thurſday December* 13. the *Iuſtice-Court* being ſet, adjourns untill Tueſday thereafter, and ordains *M. Hew* and the other two to be peremptorily liſted that day before

before the down-sitting of the Court. This afternoon, having obtain'd his Reprivall, in the thoughts of his dubious condition, he compoſed the lines following.

*Vita ergò innumeris curarum erroribus acta,*
*Clauſula conſimilis perbreve finit iter.*
*Diſtrahor ambigui dubio diſcrimine fati:*
*Aeger enim jaceo; ſin revaleſco, cado.*

*Saturnday* Dec. 8. his Brother *M. Matthew* goes from *Edinburgh* to *Glaſgow*, with a Letter from the *Lady Marqueſs* of *Dowglaſs*. and another from the *Ducheſs* of *Hamilton* to the *Lord Commiſſioner* in his favors; but both proved ineffectual.

Like-as his Cuſing *M. Matthew Mc Kail* carried another Letter from the *Lady Marqueſs* of *Dowglaſs* to the *Archbiſhop* of *St Andrewes* for the ſame purpoſe, but with no better ſucceſs.

*Dec.* 18. Sitting in Judgement, the *Lord Fenton Iuſtice Clerk*, and *Mr William Murray* (*Advocate*) *Iuſtice Depute*.

*M. Hew* being indifferently recovered, he was brought before the *Iuſtice* with other 3 that were arraigned with him. And firſt, the general Indictment is read, founded both on old and late Acts of Parliaments, made againſt Riſing and Aſſembling in Arms, and entering into Leagues and Covenants, and renewing the Solemn League and Covenant, without or againſt the Kings Authority, declaring the ſame to be Rebellion and Treaſon; and thereafter amply ſubſuming upon all the Acts, Deeds and Paſſages of the late Inſurrection with many aggravations; particularly upon their taking and renewing the Solemn

League

League and Covenant at *Lanerk*; And therefore charging them with, and concluding, that they ought to be punished for the ſame as Traitors. After which *Mr Hew* his ſpecial Indictment is read, bearing, that he had riſen and joyned with the *Rebels*, and was with them at *Air*, *Vchiltry* and *Lanerk*, and ſeveral other places on horsback, and had kept and was at ſeveral of their Rendevouz's with a Sword. Whereunto *Mr Hew* being permitted to anſwer, began his diſcourſe very conſtantly and compoſedly, declaring, that he looked upon himſelf, both from the concluſion of his Indictment, and what had happened to others, as a man appointed by men, and determined in himſelf to die, whereupon he thought himſelf obliged to uſe the greater ingenuity, and then affirmed, that he was not ashamed to avow that he was one of that afflicted and perſecuted party and perſwaſion called *Presbyterian*. Thereafter he proceeded to ſpeak of the Ties and Engagements that were upon the Land to God, in order thereto, and having commended the Inſtitution, Dignity and Bleſſing of Presbyterial Government, he ſaid that the laſt words of the National Covenant had alwayes great weight upon his ſpirit. Whereupon the King's *Advocate*, interrupting him, deſired him to forbear that diſcourſe, telling him that he was not there called in queſtion for his perſwaſion, but for the crime of Rebellion, in riſing in Arms againſt his Ma: Authority, to which he deſired him to anſwer; whereunto he anſwered, that the thing which moved him to declare himſelf as he had, and would have done, was that weighty and important ſaying of our Lord Jeſus. *Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before men, him ſhall the Son of Man alſo confeſs before the Angels of God; but he that denieth me and my words before men, ſhall be denyed before the An-*

gels of God. As for the Rebellion he was charged with, he said, his Accession was only simple *presence* with a Sword, and that occasional, as his confession before the Council did bear. The *Advocate* answers, that not only presence, such as he was charged with, was treasonable, but all intercommuning or keeping company with *Rebells*, though for the space only of half an hour; and however, he said, he was guilty of a far deeper accession, and of many other things besides these contained in his own confession; whereupon the *Advocate* caused read his Confession, and also the depositions of severall others that were examined, in so far as they concerned him. *M. Hew* answered, that all the depositions read, contained no more then was in his own Confession, nor could they make out any more against him; and so in effect it was.

The *Advocate* after the sustaining of the Indictment, having made use of, and caused read the confessions of *M. Hew* and the other persons accused before the *Assize*, in place of Probation, referred the matter to their Cognition.

The *Assize* being enclosed gave their Verdict *una voce*, and by the mouth of *Sir William Murray* of *Newtown* their Chancellor, report him to be guilty of being with the *Rebells* at severall times and places, and at their Rendevouz with a Sword, according to his subscribed confession. However it was thereafter understood, that four or five of the *Assize*, did with reluctancy pronounce this Verdict, thinking death too great a punishment for so slender a Guilt, and that the major part of the *Assize* had cleansed him, if the fear of an *Assize* of *Error* had not prevailed with them.

The Verdict being reported, Doom was pronounced, decerning and adjudging him and the rest to be

taken

taken on Saturnday Decemb: 22. to the Mercate Cross of *Edinburgh*, and there to be hanged on a Gibbet till they be dead, and that their Goods and Lands be escheated and forfeited for his Highness's use. At the hearing of which sentence, he cheerfully said, *The Lord giveth life, and the Lord taketh, blessed be the Name of the Lord.* And as he was carried back through the Guards to the Tolbooth, when the People made lamention, he answered, *Though men cut us off, God will receave us, trust in God, trust in God.*

Being come to his Chamber, he immediately addressed himself to God by prayer, with great enlargement of heart for himself and his fellow-prisoners condemned with him. Being afterwards asked, how his leg was, which was tortured; he answered merrily, „ the fear of my Neck now maketh me forget my Leg. Thereafter he said. to another freind, „ O how good „ Newes, to be within four dayes journey to enjoy „ the sight of Jesus Christ, and protested „ he vvas „ not so cumbered hovv to die, as he had been some- „ time to preach a Sermon. To some vvomen lamenting for him, he said, „ that his condition, though he „ vvas young, and in the budding of his hopes and la- „ bours in the Ministry, yet vvas not to be mourned „ for; for, said he, one drop of my blood, through „ the Grace of God, may make moe hearts contrite, „ then many years sermons might have done.

This afternoon he supplicat the Council for liberty to his Father to come & visit him, vvhich being granted, his Father the next night came to him. Their first meeting was very sad; & notwithstanding, that according both to the testimony of his Parents, and knovvledge of all his relations, he vvas a most obedient Son; yet these inevitable infirmities vvhich are incident to

the beſt of men, and cannot but furniſh ſad convictions, when conſidered in the power and pure light of the ſpiritual Law of God, did greatly trouble him in the remembrance of the fifth commandment. The paſſage was thus. After prayer his Father ſaid unto him, *Hugo, I called thee a goodly olive-tree of fair fruits, and now a ſtorm hath deſtroyed the tree and his fruits and branches.* He anſvvered, *that his Fathers too good thoughts of him had afflicted him.* His Father ſaid, he was perſwaded, God was viſiting not his own ſin, but his parents ſin upon him, ſo that he might ſay, Our Fathers have ſinned, and we have born their iniquity. He ſaid alſo, *I have ſinned; thow poor sheep what haſt thow done.* *M. Hew* anſvvered with many groans, that through coming ſhort of keeping the fifth commandment, he had come ſhort of the promiſe, that his days ſhould be prolonged in the Land of the living, and that Gods controverſy with him, was for overvaluing his children, eſpecially himſelf.

On *Thurſday* the 20 of *December* more from the importunity of Friends, then of his own inclination, he gave in to the *Privy Council*, a Petition, as follows.

*That whereas upon Tueſday laſt I was indicted and condemned, for the treaſonable deeds contained in the general and ſpecial Indictment exhibited againſt me; in the which ſpecial Indictment, containing my whole acceſſion to the ſaid Crimes, there is only libelled preſence in ſeveral places, with an ordinary ſword, likeas my own confeſſion, which is the naked truth, doth declare, how the ſame was occaſional; And ſeeing that it was alſo in ſome ſort purged & retracted by my with-*

*drawing*

*drawing and deserting with the first conveniency, whereby not only my case appears to be different from that of others, but also as favourable as possibly can be, nixt to innocency it self; likeas the same appeared no less to many of these Gentlemen who were upon my Assize. And seeing the Torture I sustained, and the ingenuity I then used, as in the sight of God, to the utmost of my knowledge, deserve that favour that was at that time insinuated; And that it is expected that his Majesty* (whose mercy I beg) *according to his great clemency and the most usual practice in the like cases, will interpose his mercy, for the rescue of many, who are equally with me involved. May it therefore please your Lordships graciously to consider the premisses*, and to pardon my great rashnes and precipitancy, *and therefore to indulge such a reprival as your Lo. shall think convenient, until his Majesty's gracious pleasure anent the premisses shall be fully known; At least till the Commissioner his Grace, do return; And your Lo. answer.* The words marked in this Petition by a different character, were the amendments of his Friends affection, which they were advised to put in, by some members of the *Privy Council*, to whom the copy of it had been presented immediately before the downsitting of the *Councill*; and thereupon the Petition being transcribed, was in so great haste presented unto him, to subscribe it, that he got it not read. However the Petition was both disrelished and refused by the *Council*; The truth is, some of his Friends exceeding zealous of his safety, had moved to several

members of the *Council*, that the *Declaration* might be tendered to him, and some time permitted him to advise thereanent; which motion, it's like, was attended with some insinuations, that probably he might be induced to subscribe it; but as the motion was ineffectual without a warrand under his own hand, so even the Authors thereof do bear him witness of his positive, fixed and often declared resolution, not to subscribe it at the highest rate: Likeas, upon some surmises to the contrary, he thought it necessary for his own vindication, to leave it under his hand, that the above-mentioned resolution was from his own proper knowledge and motive, without the assistance of the least dissuasive from any other person.

During his abode in Prison, the Lord was very graciously present with him, both to sustain him against the fear of death, and to dispel all these over-cloudings of terror, unto which the frailty of flesh and blood hath sometime exposed the best of men; and also in assisting him in prayer and praises, to the admiration of all his hearers, especially on the Thursday's night Dec. 20. whereon being set at supper with his fellow-prisoners and his Father, and one or two besides, he requested his fellow-prisoners, saying merrily, *eat to the full, and cherish your bodies, that we may all be a fat Christmass Pie to the* Prelates. After supper in thanksgiving, he burst forth in blessing God, that had made him such a fool as to come to that prison; and after many gracious words, continued saying, *many crosses have come in our way and wrought but weakly upon us, but here is a cross that hath done more good then all the many that befell us before.* Then lamenting the condition of the Church of God, with much earnestness, he used that ex-

exclamation in the last of *Daniel*, *What Lord shall be the end of these wonders!*

The last night of his life, being *Fryday Decemb.* 21. he proponed and answered himself, several questions, to the strengthening of his fellow-prisoners, and great refreshing of all his hearers. As 1. he inquired; *How should he, going from the Tolbooth through a multitude of gazing People and guards of Souldiers, to a Scaffold and Gibbet, overcome the impression of al these?* To which he answered; *By conceaving a deeper impression of a multitude of Angels who are also on-lookers; According to that, we are a gazing-stock to the VVorld, Angels and Men: For the Angels rejoycing at our good confession are present to convey and carry our souls as the soul of Lazarus, unto Abraham's bosom; Not to receave them, for that is Iesus Christ's work alone, who will welcome them to Heaven Himself, with the songs of Angels and blessed Spirits; But the Angels are ministring Spirits, always ready to serve and strengthen all dying believers.* 2. *As Stephen saw the Heavens opened, and Iesus standing on the right hand of God, VVho then said, Lord Iesus, receave my Spirit, so* (said he) *do I believe, that Iesus Christ is also ready to receave the souls of his dying sufferers.*

2. He enquired, *VVhat is the way for us to conceave of Heaven who are hasting unto it,* seing the Word saith, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him? Whereunto he answered, „ that the Scripture helps us two wayes

„ to conceave of heaven. The firſt is by way of ſimi-
„ litudes, as in that Rev. 21. where heaven is held
„ forth, by the repreſentation of a glorious City, there
„ deſcribed; but in the ſame place it is alſo termed the
„ Bride; but O how unlike are theſe two, a Bride and
„ a City! which doth clearly evidence the inſufficiency
„ and vaſt diſproportion of all ſuch ſimilitudes; and
therefore he addeth, „ the Scripture furniſheth yet a
„ more excellent way to conceave of heaven; and that
„ is 1. by conceaving the love of Chriſt to us, even
„ what is the breadth and length and depth and hight
„ and the immenſeneſs of that love of Chriſt, which
„ paſſeth knowledge, which is alſo the higheſt and
„ ſweeteſt motive of praiſe; unto him, that loved us,
and waſhed us from our ſins in his own blood, and
hath made us Kings and Prieſts unto God and His
Father, to him be glory and dominion for ever and
ever, Amen. „ 2. By holding forth the love of the
„ Saints to Jeſus Chriſt, and teaching of us to love him
„ in ſincerity, which is the very joy and exultation of
„ heaven, Rev. 5. 12. Worthy is the Lamb that was
ſlain, to receave power, and riches, and wiſdom, and
ſtrength, and honor, and glory, and bleſſing. And no
„ other thing then the ſoul breathing forth love to Je-
„ ſus Chriſt, can rightly apprehend the joyes of heaven.

The laſt words which he ſpoke at ſupper, were in the commendation of *Love* above *knowledge*, ſaying, „ O but notions of Knowledge without Love, are „ of ſmall worth, evanishing in nothing, and very dan-„ gerous. After ſupper, his father having given thanks, he read the 16 Pſalm, and his firſt words thereafter were, „ If there were any thing in the World ſadly and „ unwillingly to be left, it were the reading of the „ Scriptures. I ſaid I ſhall not ſee the Lord, even the

Lord

Lord, in the land of the living, „but this needs „not make us ſad; for where we go, the Lamb „is the book of Scripture, and the light of that „City, and there is life, even the river of the water „of life, and living ſprings. To this he added many excellent obſervations, and making mention of the 23 v. of the 31 Pſal. O love the Lord, all ye his ſaints, he added, „that where love was, it was ſo operative, „that it made flesh, ſpirit; and where it was not, „there ſpirit was made flesh: thereafter he ſung a part of the ſame Pſalm.

Supper being ended, he cals ſmilingly for a pen, ſaying, *it was to write his Teſtament*, wherein he only ordered ſome few books, which he had, to be redelivered to ſeveral perſons.

He went to bed a litle after eleven of the clock, and having ſlept wel till 5 in the morning, he aroſe and called to his Camerade *John Wodrow*, ſaying pleaſantly, *up John*; for you are too long in bed; you and I look „not like men going this day to be hanged, ſeeing we „lye ſo long. Thereafter he ſaid to him in the words of *Iſaiah ch.* 42. *v.* 24. Who gave *Iacob* for a ſpoil, and *Iſrael* to the robbers? did not the Lord? he againſt whom we have ſinned, for they would not walk in his ways, neither were they obedient unto His Law, &c. „and I think, Iohn, (ſaid he) I have not known „it, nor do I lay it to heart, as it is't ſaid in the end „of the 25 verſe. But, John (ſaid he) for all this be „not affraid, but read the 43. ch. v. 1. 2. „for all „will go well with us. Iohn ſaid to him, „you and „I will be chambered shortly in heaven, beſide *Mr Robertſon.* He anſwered, „I fear, Iohn, you bar „me out, becauſe you was more free before the „Council then I was; but I shall be as free as any of

„ you upon the Scaffold. Before break-faſt. he ſaid, „ he had got a clear ray of the Majeſty of the Lord „ afte rhis awaking, but it was a litle again over-cloud- „ ed. Thereafter he prayed, „ and atteſted the Lord, „ that he had devoted himſelf to the ſervice of God in „ the Miniſtry of the Lord Jeſus, and the edification „ of ſouls, very early; adding albeit I have not been „ ſo with my God, yet thow haſt made vvith me an „ Everlaſting Covenant, ordered in all things and ſure; „ this is all my deſire, joy and ſalvation, albeit thovv „ make me not a houſe to grovv. Novv Lord, vve „ come to thy throne, a place vve have not been ac- „ cquainted vvith; earthly King's thrones have dvo- „ cats againſt poor men, but thy Throne hath Jeſus, „ an Advocate for us. Our ſupplication this day, is „ not to be free of death, nor of pain in death, but „ that vve may vvitneſs before many vvitneſſes, a good „ confeſſion.

His Father coming to him that morning to bid him farewel; his laſt words to him were, after prayer and a litle diſcourſe, „ that his ſuffering vvould do more „ hurt to the Prelates, and be more edifying to God's „ people then if he vvere to continue in the Miniſtry, „ for tvventy years. And then he deſired his Father to leave him, elſe he would but trouble him, „ & Ideſire „ it of you, ſaid he, As the beſt and laſt ſervice you „ can do me, to go to your chamber, and pray earneſt- „ ly to to the Lord to be vvith me on that Scaffold: „ for how to carry there is my care, even that I may be „ ſtrengthened to endure to the end.

About tvvo of the clock in the Afternoon, he vvas carried to the Scaffold vvith other five that ſuffered vvith him; vvhere he appeared to the conviction of all that formerly knevv him, vvith a fairer, better and

more

more ſtayed countenance then ever they had before obſerved. Being come to the foot of the Ladder, he directed his ſpeech North-vvard to the multitude. And, premiſing, *That as his Years in the VVorld had been but fevv, ſo his VVords at that time ſhould not be many.* He ſpoke to the People, the ſpeech and Teſtimony vvhich he had before vvritten and ſubſcribed.

Having done ſpeaking to the People, who heard him with great attention, he ſung a part of the 31 Pſal. and then prayed with ſuch povver and fervency, as forced many to vveep bitterly. Having ended he gives his cloak and hat from him; And vvhen he turned himſelf and took hold of the Ladder to go up, he ſaid vvith an audible voice, *I care no more to go up this Ladder and over it, then if I were going home to my Fathers Houſe;* And as he went up, hearing a great noiſe amongſt the People, he called dovvn to his fellovv-ſufferers, ſaying, *Friends and Fellow-ſufferers, be not affraid, every ſtep of this Ladder is a degree nearer Heaven.* Then having ſeated himſelf thereon, he ſaid, *I do partly believe, that the Nobles, Counſellors, and Rulers of the Land, would have uſed ſome mitigation of this puniſhment, had they not been inſtigated by the Prelates, ſo our blood lyes principally at the Prelats door. But this is my comfort now, that I know my Redeemer liveth, and that he ſhall ſtand at the latter day upon the Earth, and though after my skin, worms deſtroy this Body, yet in my flesh ſhall I ſee God, vvhom I ſhall ſee for my ſelf, and mine Eyes ſhall behold* (pointing to his eyes) *and not another.*

thou

*though my reins be consumed in me. And now I do willingly lay down my life for the Truth and Cause of God, the Covenants and Work of Reformation, which were once counted the Glory of this Nation. And it is for endeavouring to defend this, and to extirpate that bitter root of Prelacy, that I embrace this rope* (the Executioner putting the rope about his neck.) Then hearing the People weep, he said, *Your work is not to weep, but to pray that we may be honourably born through; and blessed be the Lord, that supports me. Now as I have been beholden to the prayers and kindness of many since my imprisonment and sentence; So I hope you will not be wanting to me now, in this last step of my journey, that I may witness a good Confession: And that you may know the ground of my encouragement in this Work, and what my hope is, I will read to you the last Chapter of the Bible;* And having read it, he said, *Here you see the Glory that is to be revealed upon me, a pure river of water of life, and so forth* (read the place) *where the Throne of God is, and the Lamb is in it, where his Servants serve Him and see His face, and His Name is in their foreheads, and the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall reign for ever and ever; and here you see my access to my Glory and reward.* Let him that is a thirst come, and whosoever will let him take of the water of life freely. *And here you see also my welcome,* the Spirit and the Bride say, Come. Then he said, *I have one word more to say to my Friends,* (looking down

dovvn to the Scaffold) *vvhere are you? You need neither lament me nor be aſhamed of me in this condition, for I may make uſe of that expreſsion of Chriſts, I go to your Father and my Father, to your God and my God, to your King and my King, to the bleſſed Apoſtles and Martyrs, and to the City of the Living God, the heavenly Ieruſalem, to an innumerable company of Angels, to the General Aſſembly and Church of the Firſt-born, and to God the Iudge of all, and to the Spirits of juſt men made perfect, and to Ieſus the Mediator of the new Covenant; And ſo I bid you all farevvell: For God vvill be more comfortable to you then I could be; And he vvill alſo novv be more refreshing to me, then you can be: farevvel, farevvel in the Lord.* Then the Napkin being put on his face, he prayed a ſpace vvithin himſelf, after vvhich he put up the cloath from his face, vvith his ovvn hand, and ſaid, he had one vvord more to ſay, and that vvas to shevv them the comfort he had in his Death, ſaying, *I hope you perceaved no alteration or diſcouragement in my countenance and carriage, and as it may be your vvonder, ſo I profeſs it is a vvonder to my ſelf, and I vvill tell yovv the reaſon of it: Beſides the juſtneſs of my Cauſe, this is my comfort, vvhich vvas ſaid of* Lazarus *vvhen he dyed, that the Angels did carry his ſoul into* Abraham's *Boſom; ſo, that as there is a great ſolemnity here, of a confluence of People, a Scaffold, a Gallovvs, and People looking out at vvindovvs; ſo is there greater & more ſolemn preparation in Heaven,*

of

*of Angels to carry my ſoul to Chriſt's boſom. Again, this is my comfort, that it is to come in Chriſt's hands, and He vvill preſent it blameleſs and faultleſs to the Father, and then ſhall I be ever vvith the Lord. And novv I leave of to ſpeak any more to creatures, and turn my ſpeech to thee. O Lord! and novv I begin my entercourſe vvith God, vvhich ſhall never be broken off. Farevvel Father and Mother, Friends and Relations; Farevvel the VVorld and all Delights, Farevvell meat and drink, Farevvel Sun, Moon and Stars; VVelcome God and Father, VVelcome ſvveet Lord Ieſus, the Mediator of the nevv Covenant, VVelcome bleſſed Spirit of Grace and God of all conſolation, VVelcome Glory, VVelcome Eternal Life, VVelcome Death.* Then he deſired the Executioner not to turn him over, untill he should put over his ovvn shoulders himſelf, vvhich, after praying a little vvithin himſelf, he did, ſaying, *O Lord! into thy hands I commit my Spirit: for thou haſt redeemed my Soul, Lord God of truth.* Thus in the 26 Year of his age, he died, as he lived, in the Lord.

FINIS.

# Some Instances of the Sufferings of *Galloway* and *Nithisdale*.

BEcause in the former *Deduction*, mention is made of a Paper containing some of the Sufferings of *Galloway* and *Nithisdale*. it is not inconvenient, for more Particular Information, to subjoyn a few instances out of the same Paper.

And first, at three several inroads which the Souldiers have made into that Countrey, in the Years 1663, 1665 and 1666. they exacted from the People there, for adhereing to their old faithful Ministers, and not submitting to the Ministry of those whom the *Prelates* violently obtruded upon them, the Summes of Money underwritten, viz.

| | Lib. S. d. |
|---|---|
| From 49 Families in the Parish of *Carsphairn*, | 4864-17-0 |
| From 43 Families in the Parish of *Dalray*, | 9577-16-8 |
| From 49 Families in *Balmaclelland*, | 6430-10-0 |
| From 9 Families in *Balmacghie*, | 425-11-8 |
| From 2 or 3 Families in *Tungland*, | 166-12-0 |
| From some poor Persons in *Tuynham*, | 81- 4-0 |
| From 20 Families in *Borg*, | 2026-17-4 |
| From 9 poor Families in *Girton*, | 525-10-4 |
| From some poor Families in *Anwith*, | 733- 6-4 |
| From 34 inconsiderable Families in *Kirkpatrick-Durham*, | 2235-16-0 |

From

| | Lib. | S. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| From some few Fam. in *Kirkmabrek*, | 563- | 6- | 0 |
| From 3 Families in *Monygaff*, | 600- | 0- | 0 |
| From 18 Families in *Kircudbright*, | 2580- | 0- | 0 |
| From 37 poor Families in *Lochruton*, notwithstanding they wanted a Curate, | 2080. | 0- | 0 |
| From 12 poor Families in *Traquair*, | 756 | 10- | 0 |
| From *Kells* Parish, | 466- | 13- | 4 |
| From *Corsemichall* Parish, | 1666- | 13- | 4 |
| From 24 Families in *Parton* Parish, | 2838- | 9- | 4 |
| From 42 Families in *Irongray*, | 3362- | 18- | 8 |
| Summa | 41982- | 12- | 0 |

## In the Sheriffdom of *Nithisdale* or *Dumfries*-Shire.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| From 51 Families in the Town and Parish of *Dumfries*, | 4617- | 15- | 4 |
| From 20 poor Families in *Kirkmahoe*, | 1341- | 6- | 6 |
| From 14 Families in *Dunscoir*, | 1411- | 13- | 4 |
| In *Glencairn* Parish, | 2146- | 14- | 8 |
| Summa of *Nithisdale* | 9517- | 9- | 10 |
| Summa totalis | 51500- | 2- | 10 |

And although these Summs (being Scots-money) may seem small to strangers, yet considering that they are not leavyed proportionally from all the People, but some select persons within these bounds, and that there

are

are 19 or 20 Parishes of which there is no account at all; and that the great expense of free quarter by the souldiers, in most of the Parishes abovenamed (which would amount to a great summ) is not included, and that severall persons have not as yet payed, but are to pay their Fines and Cess; and that severall of the poor people, through fear, at divers times have given bribes in money & other things to Officers & Souldiers, for keeping them free of Cess & Quartering (notwithstanding whereof they were little or nothing the better) and that the Parliament before, arbitrarily and for no alleadged crime, had exacted by their Act of Fining, from 132 Persons within the said bounds, the summ of 77120 Pounds Scots Money; And that the Cess (besids free Quartering) levyed by the Souldiers, according to the *Commissioner's* Order, for alleaged Deficiency in Payment of the said Fines, extended to near as much as the Principal, Considering (I say) all these things, the Summs are very considerable, and much greater then could have been expected in so little bounds, and in a Countrey so poor and mountainous, and less fertill then many others in the Land.

But the exacting of money was not all, but in effect a small part of their oppression: for the carriage of the souldiers in free quartering was very cruel, barbarous and inhumane, as will appear by these general aggravations and particular instances.

Ordinarily in Quartering, they did not content themselves with sufficiency, but set themselves to consume and waste needlessly; sometimes throwing whole sheep to their dogs, and scattering corn, hay and straw, they and their boyes usually saying, *we ca we to destroy, and we shall destroy yow.*

Ordinarily when they had consumed the Land-

lord, they quartered upon the poor Tennants, and when they had consumed the Tennants, did fall upon the Land-lords, although they had conformed; as they did upon a Gentleman in *Kirkmahoe*.

Frequently these who conformed from the beginning, and others who conformed of late, did no less suffer then these who conformed not at all; and some in severall Parishes, who had given all the obedience which was demanded, suffered more then these who gave none at all; yea conforming husbands have been Punished by Fine, Cess and quartering for their non-conforming wives.

It is also to be considered, that, besids all that the Countrey had thus suffered, the souldiers were again sent forth through the Countrey, and new Fines, Cess & Quarter were imposed upon the same persons and families who had been fined before; yea, upon some it was doubled and tripled, so that some Yeomens were fined in 500 merks Scots besids their former fines. All which is the more considerable, that, although the Papists in that Countrey were very numerous, few of them were troubled, and these inconsiderable Persons, who were only fined in inconsiderable summs for the fashion.

And particularly in the Parish of *Balmaclellan*, a poor widow with several fatherless children, after she had payed at severall times 320 merks, and suffered the Cess of 3 souldiers 17 dayes, coming to the Commander of that Party to complain of some wrongs done unto her, in stead of access, she is mercilessly boasted down stairs.

In the same Parish an old deaf man, after he had payed 52 rex-dallers, and then given bond for 350 pounds Scots, was so tossed, what by being brought before

before the *High Commission*, and what by rude usage at home, that he contracted sickness and dyed; and thereafter his poor widow, having payed 120 pounds, was quartered upon many dayes, until she was forced to leave her house, and through cold and double grief contracted a deadly sickness.

In the same Parish a poor man, having been quartered upon and Payed 120 pounds Scots, was himself cast into prison, while 8 souldiers quartered upon him at home. In the same Parish, a Gentleman, who did ordinarly come to Church, was quartered upon by six souldiers, notwithstanding that himself, his Lady and most part of his family were sick.

In the same Parish a poor man being quartered upon 38 dayes, and having payed 48 pounds, and given bond for 150 pounds, though as is informed, he hath not so much as a free Cow, when he came to complain, he was beaten by the Officer, and returning, was again beaten by the Souldiers. In the same Parish, a poor bed-rid man with his sick wife were necessitated to beg, until he gathered three pounds to give for his Fine or Cess.

In the same Parish a very poor bed-rid creple man was forced to pay 50 merks.

In the same Parish a very old honest man, who being reckoned past 80 years, and unable to work in his trad being a Coupar, and scarce having the worth of a groat of free goods, but the Countreyes charity, was forced to pay 20 pounds.

In the Parish of *Corsemichall*, the souldiers being quartered in a house, having left some broth of mutton, did violently thrust away the hungry children from supping thereof, till first they set their dogs to leap it, and then did bid the children take what the dogs had left.

In the Parish of *Parton*, the ſouldiers, horſe and foot, after they had quartered 15 weeks in a Gentleman's houſe, till they had eaten up the Proviſion wherewith he should have maintained his family, having five or ſix ſmall children, they forced his wife and ſervants to the doors, after they had been their ſlaves and ſervants all that time, and then Poſſeſſed themſelves abſolute maſters of his whole houſes, plenishing, cattell and what elſe was his within their reach; and when ſome good neighbours had receaved the little ones for shelter, with great difficulty could they obtain one milk Cow of twelve belonging to their Father, for ſupply of the children. Nota. This Gentleman ſeems to be utterly broken, and hes been ſeverall times impriſoned and miſerably toſſed up and down.

In the Parish of *Borg*, in a Gentlemans houſe, the ſouldiers did quarter for 15 weeks, till they conſumed the whole proviſion of the Family, which was well furnished with meal and malt and other neceſſaries; they alſo deſtroyed the whole plenishing (except one table which they left in caſe they came again) even to the pulling down of the Partition-wall of the main dwelling houſe, and pulling down of an Office-houſe without the gate: All this deſtruction they committed by giving and ſelling one part within the Countrey, and ſending another part to *Glaſgow*, and breaking and burning the reſt of it, of purpoſe that it might be uſeleſs for the owner, who was forced to flee before, & betake himſelf to wandering with his brother and their families. And after they had committed all this vaſtation, they alſo fell upon their Tennants, and forced them to bring in malt, sheep, fowls, and other things (for their maintenance) that they pleaſed to call for, and ſo ruined them alſo; And two of his

Tennants

Tennants they forced to ſcatter their families, having threatened to burn their houſes, beſids all the deſtruction they had done to their Maſter and them before.

In the Parish of *Irongray*, a poor Tennant having bargained with the Souldiers, to redeem his goods for 36 pounds, when he came to *Dumfris*, they would hardly take 50 pounds, ſo that he was forced to borrow the *over-plus*. and being returned home to shear his corns, and expecting no more trouble from them, they came back upon him, and took away his beaſts and all, even to the leading away of his hay. The like was practiſed upon another in the ſame Parish.

And further, ſome Maintenance impoſed in the year 1648, being alleaged unpayed by ſeverall Gentlemen and others within the Sheriffdom of *Nitbiſdale*, letters of horning were raiſed by the Collectors; which letters and executions thereof were ſuſpended, becauſe the ſame was already payed, and yet notwithſtanding, Troopers were ſent to Ceſs and Quarter upon the ſaid perſons, till they should make payment, although the ſuſpenſion was not diſcuſſed; and ſeveral of them, to be releeved of the heavy burthen of the Ceſs & quartering, were conſtrained to make payment thereof, and that by and attour the Ceſs for the ſame, which was far above the ſaid maintenance, in ſo much that a Gentleman who at firſt might have payed for 30 pounds, the Party that went to Ceſs upon him would not aggree to remove for leſs then 200 merks, Yea after an order was procured from the *Commiſſioner*, for removing the Ceſs for the ſaid Maintenance, a party of 8 or 9 horſmen, with their boyes and horſes, were ſent once and again to quarter upon ſome Gentlemen,

until they were forced to make a new addreſs to the *Commiſſioner* for removal thereof.

By all which, that Countrey was ſo exhauſted of money, that neither poor nor rich could get it to ſatisfy theſe men's demands, and the poor people were forced to ſell their beaſts in the Merkets below their worth; in ſo much that they were forced to ſell a Cow for two Nobles or two Crowns, the ſouldiers in the mean time ſtanding by to receave the ſame, although the poor men had deſtitute families at home: Yea many families whoſe ſumms are not here reckoned, in probability are totally ruined, and many others ſcattered, and particularly in *Lochrutton* there are above 16 families broken, in *Irongray* the moſt part of the families are broken, beſide ſeveral that are already put from houſe-keeping, the ſouldiers having taken away, both there and elſewhere, that which the People should have lived upon; yea ſeveral Gentlemen, formerly in good condition, were put from houſe-keeping, and forced to wander, and be beholden to others for a nights lodging, the ſouldiers having violently poſſeſſed themſelves of their barns, cattel and other goods.

Neither is this all, the wickedneſs, prophanity and blaſphemies of the ſouldiers, are rather to be abhorred and ſuppreſt then thought or ſpoken of, if the notoriety thereof were not univerſall in theſe bounds.

In the Parish of *Carſphairn*, in an Inn at the Bridge of *Deugh*, on the Sabbath-day, ſome of them being quartered there, they moſt profanely and atheiſtically mocked at all preaching of the Goſpel, ſaying, *let us go preach*, and then read their text out of the *Cherry and the Slae* (an old Scotch Amorous Poem) counterfeiting

ing a form of divine worship, and as it is informed did ſing an other part of the ſame Poem in ſtead of the Pſalms, and uſed all other mocking modes, as if they had been ſerious at Gods worship.

In the Parish of *Irongray*, an honeſt man retiring himſelf to the fields for ſecret prayer (not having liberty at home) was followed by the Souldiers, who drew ſwords upon him threatning to kill him, if they heard him praying any more, ſaying, Sir, *we have heard yow many times howling, if we hear yow again, &c.*

Another time in that ſame Parish, the Maſter of the houſe was exhorting them to leave off their ſwearing and profanity, showing them the danger and hazard they were in of the condemnation of Hell, ſome of the ſouldiours mocking at hell moſt blaſphemouſly anſwered. *By my ſoul ere I go to hell, it ſhall coſt God 24 hours pains ere he get me there.*

In the Town of *Kircudbright*, when one *Captain Fin* an horſeman died, one of his Camerads coming to ſee him, and finding him dead, came near and rudely gripping the dead man, uſed this horrid expreſſion, what, divell art thow dead, man? and did not tell me before, that I might have ſent a letter to hell with thee (to ſuch a camerade of his as he named, who had died lately before) to take up my winter quarters.

In the ſame Town alſo, as is informed, ſome of them conveening at the Croſs, & drinking there healths, one of them perſonating... (Who dare expreſs whom) uſed this blaſphemous expreſſion to his Camerads, *Ye are my Angels*, and I *drink to you all.* But we abhorre to mention any more of this ſort: only this is certain, that Atheiſm and Blaſphemy is become ſo ordinary with them, that ſome of themſelves are forced to regret it.

In the Parish of *Carſphairn*, ſome of the foot ſouldiers did ſo barbarouſly and cruelly ſtruggle with a man's wife to have forced her (till she was reſcued out of their hands by ſome women) that she for fear parted with child, and keeped her bed half a year, being near unto death, and little hope of recovery.

Alſo in a Gentleman's houſe in the ſame Parish, where they were quartered, they cruelly beat ſome of the ſervants to the effuſion of their blood, for all the good ſervice they had done them,

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## POSTSCRIPT.

BY theſe things, which have been done in *Galloway* and *Nithiſdale*, as the Reader may compute, what vaſt ſufferings and horrid abominations muſt be in the whole Land, many places whereof are no leſs diſaffected to Prelacy, when there are ſo many and groſs, in ſo little bounds and ſo short time; ſo he may preceave, what provocation that poor oppreſſed people had to endeavour their own preſervation, and to take hold of any opportunity for vindicating their religious and civil Intereſts: and what reaſon others, either in the ſame condition with them, or upon the common ground of Non-conformity, being threatened and juſtly fearing to be shortly reduced thereunto, had, according to their obligation in the Covenant, for mutual defence and aſſiſtance in the common cauſe of Religion and Liberty, to joyn with them for their help. Neither should I have adventured to inſert theſe inſtances, if (beſids the diligent care that was uſed in collecting of them, making them credible; the notoriety thereof, whereby they were unqueſtioned in that part of the Countrey; and many ſuchlike things (whereunto all that is mentioned, is but like a preface) committed ſince Novemb. 1666, eſpecially in the

the Western parts, rendering them probable) they were not the native product of this Prelatical course, betwixt which and them there is such connexion, as is betwixt the natural cause and the effect, and if the committers thereof had not had command, example and encouragement for many of them from the Prelats, whom they resemble as much as face answereth to face in water. It is true the Prelats should no more bear all the blame, then Sathan (who restraineth none but tempteth to all) should be charged with all the Sin of man, and they were and are first and chief in the transgression, who were their Authors and are their upholders and abettors, and in retaliation of their flattery of the Powers, and connivance at profanness in all, and in subserviency to their interest and designe, have perpetrated and permitted so much wickedness and oppression; Yea the Peoples walking willingly after the commandement, will never Excuse those, who by Law, Force & Example make Israel to Sin: yet it is above contradiction, that Prelacy is the chief though not the only Interest, in subserviency to which all these things are done; and the Prelats themselves are a conjunct if not the Principal cause thereof. These men having put off their former vizards, no man needeth further to unmask them. Let these who employed and maintained *Sharp* to agent their cause, and others who promoted him to the Prelacy, declare their own Experience, of his continued *series* of ungrate deceaving and undermining of them and their Interests, under Trust and professions to the contrary, as all men know that he hath Impiously and Perfidiously betrayed the Church and Cause of God: if they will not, Let his own many letters written unto them, be produced, as in reason and for Vindication they should, and they will evince him to be the Archest Traitor that ever *Scotland* bred: And how can it otherwise be? will he who is false to God, be true to any man? If that man escape some stupenduous and disgracefull remark

by the hand of God or Man, I will not ſay, that Others need neither fear the One nor regard the other, but ſure I am, that many more Experienced in the obſervation of divine Providence; and forſeeing then I am, are much miſtaken. Let the City of *Glaſgow*, and perſons of all Qualities, eſpecially in that countrey-ſide, ingenuouſly ſay, whether that fiery Zelot for the height of English Hierarchy and Ceremonies, and otherwiſe inſignificant man, *Maſter Burnet* prelate there, doth not, in Juſt recompence of too many their enſlaving their own light and conſcience, in flattery of him, and complying with that courſe, moſt inſolently domineer over them as his ſlaves, with as much Prid, Ambition, and Contempt, as the moſt abſolute Prince doth over his vaſſals. Let theſe of the Synod of *Glaſgow* remember, with what deep diſſimulation *Mr Hamilton* prelat of *Galloway*, did by Expreſs ſuffrage declare, before the laſt Synod there, againſt the ſame Prelacy, which at that ſame inſtant of time, he was clandeſtinly correſponding with the Rulers to eſtablish. This man of all others, hath been the chief Cauſe of all the Oppreſſion and perſecution in that countrey, and thereby the Occaſion of the late riſeing in Armes, & blood that hath followed thereupon. One inſtance of *Mr Honeyman* prelate of *Orkney* I cannot ommit, that in the year 1661, when *Mr Sharp* had diſcovered himſelf, walking in his own garden, he ſaid to a famous perſon who can bear witneſs thereof, (Juſt as *Balaam* ſpake truth whether he would or not) That *Mr Sharp was as falſe as Judas*, and I would gladly know, to whom this *Caſuiſt*, who ſince hath embraced a Biſhoprick, will Compare himſelf for falſ-hood, except to him who entered into *Judas* with the ſop. I need tell no man who knoweth the Perſons, of the brutish Senſuality of *Mr Wallace P.* of the *Iſles*, who ſtudieth more the filling of his belly then he was ever fit for feeding of a flock; nor of the hatred of Godlineſs and good men in *Mr Guthrey P.* of *Dunkel*

who

who while he was Miniſter at *Sterlin*, was an old perſecuter of both; nor the ſcandalous drinking of *Mr Sraugkan P.* of *Erechen*, let thoſe who viſite him in his own houſe, declare how liberally he uſeth to entertain them with Wine there, upon their own Expence. It is true indeed, that *Mr Lighton* prelate of *Dumblan*, under a Jeſuitical-like vizard of Pretended Holineſs, humility, & crucifixion to the world, hath ſtudied to ſeem to creep upon the ground, but alwayes up the hill, toward promotion & places of more eaſe, honor & Wealth; & as there is none of them all hath with a Kiſs ſo betrayed the Cauſe, and ſmiten Religion under the fifth rib, and hath been ſuch an offence to the godly, ſo there is none who by his way, practice and Expreſſions, giveth greater ſuſpicion of a popish affection, inclination and deſign. If theſe men had not put off their own vaile, no pencil of the moſt skilled artiſt could have drawn them to the life, but now by shewing of themſelves, they have ſaved others a labour, or at leaſt made it more eaſy. And therefore I shall rake no more into this unpleaſant dung-hil of the vileſt vices, which they and their Brethren in Iniquity (whom not nameing here doth not Except from their part of the charg of Ambition, Prid, Senſuality, Idleneſs, Covetouſneſs, Oppreſſion, Perſecution, Diſſimulation, Perjury, Treachery, and Hatred of Godlineſs and Good men,) have heaped together in their own Perſons, and tranſſuſed to others over all the Land. O the Immenſe longſuffering and unſearchable Wiſedome of God! who, hearing the cry of theſe things, ſtirreth not the Zeal of all to Execute his juſt Judgment upon theſe men; but it may be, that he is ripening and reſerving them, for a more God-like ſtrok, then any would be acknowledged to be, wherein man were Inſtrumental. Neither are their Mercenaries, whom they hire as Poſtillions to ride upon the fore-horſe of all their Wickedneſs, leſs skilled, but more foreward that way then their drivers. It were as far above the faith of any, who have not heard and ſeen, to beleeve,

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and might render any pen ſuſpected of the want of truth or tenderneſs, to write the Hundreth part, as it it eaſy to inſtance incredibly much, but endleſs to relate all that is true of the Ignorance, Lightneſs & Profaneſs of theſe men. When I have told, that ſeveral lying in known and acknowledged fornication, without removall of the ſcandal, have been admitted to the Miniſtry by the *Prelats* who knew it, and violently obtruded by them & the Patrons upon the offended people; That ſome of them after Admiſſion, have been deprehended lying with women by the way ſide; that Others have been found guilty of Actuall fornication, and of unanſwerable preſumptions of Adultery with other mens wives; and that drounkenneſs is both open and frequent amongſt many of them, I may well awake the wonder, the blush and horrour of the reader, but I have only begun to shew a part (& indeed a very ſmall part) of theſe mens wayes. A Prophet he may be by way of prognoſtication, but let the world Judg what manner of Preacher he muſt be, who, offending that the people did not come to hear him, did, before the Congregation, Imprecate thus againſt himſelf, *God nor I be hanged but I ſhall make you all come.* Another refuſed to pay the price of a horſe before he pleaſed, (which he uſed to boaſt privately would be at Doomſday) becauſe the ſeller, at the making of the bargan, in Civility ſaid, *Pay me when ye pleaſe*; and thereupon, to the ſcorn and deriſion of all, ſubſtained an action of Law ſome dayes before a Civill Court. Who will commerce with ſuch horſe-koopers? but much leſs who can acknowledg ſuch men for Miniſters? Theſe men, being themſelves generally without ſubſtance and forme of Religion, are ſuch malicious perſecuters of both in Others, that as I could never hear of one ſoul turned from Sathan to God by their labours (whereof indeed there are many profane ſeals) ſo they are become vile in the eyes of all, that are truly godly or but morally civil; In ſo much that this is the only advantage,

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(and indeed it is an advantage, for if they were more ſmooth and ſober, they might be more inſnaring) that they do not wear a rough garment to deceave; and though I cannot ſay, that their out-ſide is as unclean as their inner-ſide, yet it is ſuch as ſaith in every mans heart, that *the fear of God is not before their eyes.* Theſe are the pleaſant birds, that are hatched and cherished under the warm wings of Prelacy, of whom though no man can ſpeak the half of the truth to a ſtranger, without expoſing himſelf to the Cenſure of partiality, Paſſion or being a Reproacher; yet the Univerſall and incontroverted Notoriety of theſe things, in all places where they reſide or converſe, will abſolve the relater before all men who know them. It is true, we do not charg every individuall with every particular, yet becauſe they are generally true of Many, and being notourly known and ſometimes repreſented are not remeeded, they are chargable upon the Courſe, which being Sinfull in ſelf, the Authors and Abettors thereof are participant of the guilt, and lyable to the punishment. And indeed the Lord hath already begun his controverſy with ſome of them, not only by pouring ſhame and Contempt upon them (particularly upon Traiterous *Sharp*) and drying up the Right eye & blaſting the gifts which ſeverall ſeemed to have (whether by their own negligence, which every man obſerveth, or Immediat judgment, or both, I do not determine,) but alſo by viſible curſing of their ſubſtance, diverſe of them being neceſſitated through poverty to ſell their tithes at half worth, long before they are payable, and others of them to remove, leaving more debt behind, then they are able to diſcharge. Neither have theſe men thus profaned the ſanctuary only, & by the ſins of the Sons of Ely made all men to abhor the offering of the Lord; but from them are iſſued forth, ſuch overflowing ſtreames of wickedneſs over all the Land, that, beſids all that is mentioned, there are other inconceavable & inexpreſſible Atheiſtical abominations ſaid to be committed

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by men, which, as it is a Wonder the Devil himself should dare to act, so for fear of the great and dreadful God, and of offending the ears of others, my heart trembleth to think, & my hand faileth to writ. O Lord forgive, that ever anothers speaking, but much more Acting, should have occasioned my Thinking thereof.

And yet as if all that is related were too little, for sanctuary to themselves, for further inslaving of the Countrey, & venting of insatiable revenge (cursed be their anger for it is fierce, and their wrath for it is cruell) they have procured two Proclamations, dated at *Edinburgh March.* 25. 1667. making mention *of great evidence of many disaffected Persons in the Western Shires, who are ready to break out in open Rebellion, & involve the Kingdom in blood; & of just reason of suspition that these Rebells will rise in Armes against the King and his Authority, and not only make use of the Armes, Powder and Ammunition concealed or transported from Enemies, but seise upon the Armes of others, and invade the Ministers of the Gospel &c. And therefore for preventing and disabling of them to put themselves in Military posture, to make sudden marches or attempts upon other Subjects or the standing Forces, or to joine with other persons of Pernicious and disloyal principles, &c.* commanding *all persons within the Shires of* Lanerk, Air, Renfrew, Wigton *and* Stewarty *of* Kirkudbright, *who have refused or deserted publick trust, who withdraw from publick Ordinances, and keep not their Parish-Churches, or do not submit to the present Government of the Church, and all who being warned did not joine to suppress the late Rebellion, unless they take the Oath of Alleageance, and subscribe the Declaration, that after the* 15 *day of May next, by themselves or any other for their behoof, they do not keep any horse above the value of an hundred merks; and in case of failzie, that the Sherif value & deliver such horses to the Informer without payment to be made therefore; and before the first of May, to deliver to their respective Sherifs all their Armes and Ammunition* (*allowing*

*Gent.*

*Gentlemen only ſwords*) *under the pain of fining each Gentleman in* 2000 *merks, & each other perſon in* 500 *merks, whereof the one half to the Informer*; *and* commanding *all Heritors and Parishioners to defend the perſons, families, and goods of their Miniſters, from all affronts and injuries*, with certification *that the ſufferers and not oppoſers of the ſame, ſhall be reputed art & part, & be proceeded againſt with all rigor as guilty thereof*; *and in caſe of ſurpriſal, that they purſue, apprehend and preſent the committers before the Council, otherwiſe to be lyable to reparation of damnage, &c.* What new and ſtrange Policy is there here, that the Narrative of both Proclamations, in ſtead of concealing in the time of declared and continued War with Forrainers, ſhould proclaime that there are ſo many diſaffected perſons, who are ready to riſe in Armes, to ſeiſe upon the Armes of others, and weaken the Forces of the Kingdom, thereby expreſſing the ſenſe of their own deſervings, and the fears of an evil conſcience, diſcovering their own nakedneſs to enemies, and encouraging Forrainers to invade with the more confidence? Muſt theſe Shires, which, without derogation to others, do eminently flourish with men of Piety towards God and true Lovalty, and during the King's Exile, did retain a more faithful remembrance of his Intereſt according to the Covenants, then many other places of the Kingdom, be, of all other Shires within the ſame in recompenſe thereof, rewarded with the Titles of *diſaffected perſons, Rebells, men of pernicious and diſloyal principles*, and ſpoiled of their goods? Whence ſhould theſe, who being ſpoiled of all Armes, firſt by the *Engliſh*, and then by the *Council* ſince the King's return, be preſumed to have concealed Armes! What ground is there to ſuggeſt unto the World, the tranſportation of Armes from Enemies? Muſt every man who will not throw away for nothing his Horſe and Armes, which he hath purchaſed by his money, be therefore *a ſeditious and diſaffected perſon*, and accordingly proceeded againſt with all rigor! If none within

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in theſe Shires muſt keep a horſe exceeding the value above-mentioned, how impoſſible is it to labour much of the ground? How are covetous wretches, in hope of gaining horſe without Payment, and the half of the Fines for concealed Armes, animated to give in invidious Informations againſt the owners? and many poor well meaning people tempted, to redeem their beaſts at the rate of Perjury and breach of Covenant? What an abſurd thing is it, to punish men otherwayes innocent, only for not accepting or deſerting publick truſt; whereunto they neither have acceſs, nor can continue in without formal and expreſs Perjury? How irrational and unjuſt is it, to command (under a penalty) Parishioners to do that which may be impoſſible, yea without the compaſs of their knowledge, ſuch as oppoſing, but much more apprehending and preſenting ſurprizers? wherewith, I pray you, ſhall theſe who muſt deliver up all their Armes (reſerving not ſo much as a ſword) defend themſelves or any other man, againſt violence and ſurprizall? We read in our Hiſtory of a Law, whereby for repreſſing of Theft, men were not to ſhut their doors in the night, and ſatisfaction was enſured to the owner for any thing that ſhould be ſtoln from him; whereupon a Countrey-man alleaging his goods to be ſtoln, obtained payment; but being found thereafter that himſelf had hid them, he was hanged for a reward to himſelf and example to others: Now what if ſome of theſe covetous and malicious Men ſhould (for who can rationally promiſe and ſecure, but that they who have done worſe, may alſo) thus abſtract or cauſe abſtract their own goods? what if the Lord ſhould immediatly ſmit them for offering ſtrange fire? or thieves and robers ſhould fall upon them? or evil Spirits in humane ſhape. ſhould haunt or hurt them, muſt Innocent people upon their invidious & falſe alleagance be therefore punished? As if the Parishioners of *Carphairn* ſhould pay for *Mckinney's* ſilver plate, which his own ſervant ſtole from him.

Ah *Scotland, which the Lord planted a noble vine, wholly a right ſeed! how art thow turned into a degenerate plant of a Strange Vine?* Where is now the Spirit of the Fathers, that (as if thy inhabitants were neither Chriſtians; Men nor Patriots) Religion, the Land, Ourſelves, and the Poſterity, in Bodies, Conſciences, and Eſtats ſhould be thus emancipated, to the Intereſt, Luſt and Deſigne of 14 Prelats and their Hirelings, whom the Lords ſparing is a greater wonder, then if he ſhould convert them into Pillars of ſalt for their Apoſtacy: O Backſliden *Scotland! remember from whence thow art fallen, Repent and Do the Firſt works, or elſe he will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candleſtick out of his place, except thow Repent.*

FINIS.